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THE STORY OF JESUS
AND THE
BEGINNINGS OF
THE CHURCH

THE STORY OF JESUS AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CHURCH

A VALUATION OF THE *Synoptic Record* FOR *History* AND FOR *Religion*

BY

BENJAMIN W. BACON

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PREFACE

The eight lectures herewith presented to the public were originally prepared for delivery to a summer conference of ministers of the Maritime Provinces, held in 1923 at Mount Alison University, N. B., Canada. This determines their general character and scope, for it was the request of the Directors of the Conference that they should be simple in style, and cover a wide field of New Testament study. Consequently the subject was made to cover the entire historical basis of Christianity antecedent to the conversion of Paul, and the presentation was made in the simple form of affirmation rather than argument, setting forth not so much processes as results.

In 1924 the lectures were thoroughly revised and rewritten for presentation at The Pacific School of Religion, at Berkeley, Cal. on the Earle Foundation, and in 1926 a third revision was made, less drastic in character, adapting them for delivery at the Lutheran Summer School of Theology held at Lancaster, Penn. None of these institutions are in any manner responsible for the opinions expressed, which are the author's own, but it is to him a pleasant memory to re-

call the grateful reception tendered at places so widely separate, among ministers and laity so diverse in theological belief. He hopes it may be taken as indicative of like goodwill on the part of readers to whose judgment they are now committed.

B. W. BACON.

December 17, 1926.
New Haven

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THE STORY OF JESUS

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I

HISTORY AND THE GOSPEL

IN his Yale Lectures for 1895 entitled "The Gospel for an Age of Doubt," Dr. Henry Van Dyke tells us:

> We must get back to the unity and integrity of the thoughts of Jesus, the creed of Christ, the broad outline of His vision of things human and divine, the central verities which appear firm and unchangeable in all the reports of His teaching, the point of view from which He discovered and interpreted the mystery of life. That is what we must seek. And when we find it we must take our stand there, as men who feel the solid ground beneath their feet. The Rock of Certainty is the Mind of Jesus expressed in His living words and in His speaking life. Beyond that we need not and we cannot go. Here is the ultimatum. This is the truth, we say to men, because Jesus knew it, and said it, and lived it. (p. 200)

This appears to me as clear-cut a definition of the type of gospel commonly called "liberal" as I have ever met. But it seems to me the very opposite of a gospel for an age of doubt. Doubt is suspicious of

authority. Here everything is made to rest on authority. It is the authority of Jesus, to be sure, and we know no higher. But we get at this solid ground only by a process of critical inquiry, whose attempts to gain what Dr. Van Dyke hopefully calls "the central verities which appear firm and unchangeable in all the reports of his teaching," result in a host of contradictions. Nominally each ardent interpreter presents a Rock of Certainty which is the real Mind of Jesus expressed in his living words and his speaking life, that is, let us say, the Gospel of Matthew—with such modifications as the critic feels it necessary to apply in view of divergences in the other Gospels. In reality, each interpreter and critic presents a different result, so that the Rock of Certainty unfortunately loses much of its equilibrium. The unskilled in criticism must fall back either on the infallible interpretation of Rome or the infallible interpretation of the Fundamentalists or the infallible interpretation of some chosen critic. Since Jesus' words are not directly accessible, the Christian religion, if it is to be a religion of authority, must have a scribe to sit in Moses' seat defining the faith and practice of the unlearned.

No one, I think, will contend that the last generation of Christian teachers, liberal or conservative, have succeeded in dispelling the Age of Doubt. Those whose doubts could be dispelled by loud assertions of dog-

matic authority have taken refuge long since in the infallibility of Romanism or Biblicism. But if Christianity can be saved only by transforming it from a religion of the Spirit to a religion of authority, its cause is already lost. Authority is in ever more and more rapid decline. Only superstition and degeneracy lie that way. The religion of the future must be a religion of the Spirit, or it will become a mere refuge for the feeble-minded.

To dispel the doubt of the age just past, it was an astonishing tactical mistake on the part of "liberal" leaders (so-called) to abandon the position which had just received the most splendid vindication in the history of biblical criticism, I mean the historical authentication of the greater Epistles of Paul, giving us first-hand testimony from one who personally knew Peter the Apostle and James the brother of Jesus, one who could and does say, "I received," "I heard," "I saw," to entrench themselves behind "reports of the life and teaching of Jesus," which, however precious as a secondary authority, could scarcely stand in court at all without the primary support of Paul.

The course of historical investigation in the New Testament has been similar to its course in the Old. Formerly, scholars rested on the narrative books, beginning with Genesis, as the foundation for Hebrew history. When the Mosaic authorship was challenged it became unavoidable to fall back on the writings of

definite name and date, beginning with Amos, first of the written prophets. Amos does not undertake to relate the past, but by the implications of his admittedly authentic prophecy, reflecting conditions as they actually were in the ninth century B. C., we obtain the means of testing out and evaluating the more or less conflicting tradition recorded in the anonymous narrative books. New Testament criticism, in like manner, reads and evaluates the more or less conflicting statements of the tradition reported in the anonymous Four Gospels and Book of Acts, by resorting to the Epistles, many of them much earlier in date, some of them no longer open to question as the authentic work of Paul. For the historically minded, no conceivable measure could be more sure to aggravate doubt and distrust in an age already questioning the reliability of the primitive records of our faith than just this indifference to Paul, the historically vindicated witness of the Spirit, to choose for the citadel of defense the story of the sayings and doings of Jesus collected by unknown compilers at an unknown later date. And it is not even the earliest and most reliable of these sources which is usually selected. When the fourth Gospel is disregarded because of its later origin and admittedly non-historical point of view, almost invariably attention is concentrated on Matthew, a later expansion of the Gospel of Mark, whose aim is to meet the neo-legalistic bent of the time by setting

forth Jesus as a second and greater Moses who ordains a new Law of commandments resting on the authority of his own miraculous power. How criticism evaluates this Gospel as compared with Mark, we shall see presently.

This attempt to meet doubt and distrust by greater emphasis on self-sustained authority has had the effect we might have foreseen. Instead of yielding, doubt and distrust have grown to alarming proportions in the thirty years just past. Scholars of the transcendent learning of a Harnack have made it their chief goal to get back to "the unity and integrity of the thoughts of Jesus, the creed of Christ." Scribes "well instructed unto the kingdom of God" have waited in vain for unanimous acceptance by the Christian world of their infallible historico-critical reconstructions. The courage and industry of their undertaking is admirable. But the naiveté of their hope is pathetic. Others, like the former editor of "The Century," now president of the University of Wisconsin, deplore the theological disputes for which they hold Paul largely responsible and seek a practical way out by falling back on the ethics of Jesus. Paul's interpretation of the significance of his career and fate has become distasteful to moderns in consequence of the repeated attempts of theologians from Augustine down, contrary to the emphatic protest of Paul himself, to make Paul's particular interpretations obliga-

tory on all. "I am of Paul," is their cry, and they would impose Paul's interpretation on all, unchanged, save as they themselves have unconsciously changed it, having never learned to know Paul the peacemaker, the champion of toleration and liberty. Paul's interpretation of Christ has become utterly distasteful because of this un-Pauline intolerance of change, and many, because of what they wrongly take to be Pauline, are ready to abandon his truly impregnable and eternal "witness of the Spirit" for defenses hastily thrown up by various schools of criticism around what they regard as "central verities." Our "solid rock" is to appear, firm and unchangeable, when they have accomplished their quest for the Mind of Jesus expressed in his living words and in his speaking life.

I should add a further group, some of whom I am thankful to regard as my personal friends, who testify their faith in a Matthean type of Christianity not merely by the devotion with which they endeavor to bring to their fellow-Jews the sublime teaching and martyr death of Jesus as the acme of true Judaism, but by the obloquy which they willingly encounter in this cause at the hand of Jew and Christian alike. To the great names of Friedländer, Claude G. Montefiore, and I. Abrahams, we have recently to add those of Stephen Wise, of New York, and J. Klausner, of Jerusalem. These men, too, after their manner, are witnesses for Jesus as the greatest prophet of Israel,

and they have made no small contribution to that quest of the Mind of Christ which is indeed indispensable, but which can never be erected (thanks to the wisdom of Jesus in leaving no written law to his disciples) into a dogma of infallibility. But I have yet to hear of the liberal Jew who has a good word to say for Paul, the man who could say, "Yea, though I had known Christ after the flesh, yet now would I know such a Christ no more." It is Paul who made Christianity a religion of the Spirit, and those who are for a religion of law based on dogmatic, ecclesiastical, or even scholastic authority find it hard to get along with Paul.

The difference between Pauline and Matthean Christianity has been very clearly defined for us in a great lecture which I had the privilege of hearing from Harnack in Berlin nearly fifteen years ago. It was called, "The Religion *of* Jesus, and the Religion *about* Jesus." The religion *of* Jesus is of course the substance of the Gospel of Matthew. Some one has defined it as the paternalistic theism of the Sermon on the Mount and the Lord's Prayer. That, I suppose, is the nearest definition historical criticism can give with united voice of the "central verities" which Dr. Van Dyke would establish on the simple authority of Jesus. That is the religion *of* Jesus. The religon *about* Jesus is an apostolic testimony to which we have direct and historically certain access only

through the writings of Paul. As Paul phrases it, it is the message that through the life and more especially the martyr death and continuing Holy Spirit of Jesus, *God* has been restoring the world to His favor, forgiving men their sins. Paul and his fellow-apostles were ambassadors of this gospel of peace. The seal of their apostleship by which God set His stamp of approval on their message was the Spirit, the Spirit of Jesus actually at work in themselves and others. It might be manifested in various ways at various times, but perpetually and to all generations of Christians in every age and clime this God-given Spirit was a morally redemptive power identical with the mind of Christ, an indwelling disposition to faith, hope, and love, but supremely love. Whoever had this as the well-spring of his life had the witness in him. Whoever had not this Spirit of Jesus was none of his.

The religion *of* Jesus, contrariwise, must be accepted, if at all, on authority. The religion *about* Jesus is eternally self-verifying because it is a religion of the Spirit. If your life is actually animated by that spirit of devotion to the will of his Father which we call the Mind of Christ, no more proof is needed. You have the witness within you, testifying with your spirit that you are born of God. A God-given, inward power now makes you victorious over moral evil, to which previously, through the weakness

of the flesh, you had succumbed. Paul believed that through this same eternal Spirit of God, dwelling in him, Jesus had triumphed not only over human sin, but over death as well. He therefore expected to share in Jesus' heavenly glory just as he had shared the sufferings of Christ in the flesh. Whether our experience justifies this hope is for the man who has it to decide. At all events this is the religion *about* Jesus which Paul often speaks of as "the word of the cross," the gospel of peace (from God), the word of faith which was (and still is) accompanied and proved by the gifts of the Spirit. It is self-verifying.

Now it is quite obvious that the Pauline religion *about* Jesus cannot get along without the religion *of* Jesus and would not desire to. Unless we know what the essential nature of the Mind of Christ was, how are we to be governed by his Spirit? We might think we were acting according to the Mind of Christ when wishing, like James and John, to call down fire from heaven on obstinate religious opponents. Therefore, while Paul seldom refers to any commandment of Jesus, and never to any of his mighty works, he makes perfectly explicit what it is to have in you the mind which was in Christ Jesus. It is to humble oneself and become obedient unto death, even the death of the cross, that we may do the will of the God and Father of Jesus Christ. For therefore also God hath highly exalted him and given him the name which

is above every name, that unto him every knee should bow, whether of men or angels, and that every tongue should confess that he is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

The religion *about* Jesus, you see, is self-demonstrative, and necessarily includes the religion *of* Jesus. To me it seems a very convincing kind of religion to offer to an Age of Doubt. It bids the doubter simply, Come and see!

But what of the type of "liberal" gospel (so-called) which is offered in preference? In some at least of those who advocate return to the simple religion *of* Jesus, I mean the paternalistic theism of the Sermon on the Mount and the Lord's Prayer, there is an unconcealed desire to be rid of the "theologizing" of Paul. Paul's habit of looking at things from the standpoint of the Eternal, everlastingly attempting to explain things by an assumed redemptive purpose of God, who "sends" Jesus to accomplish it, "gives" him to his martyr death, "raises" him to his heavenly throne, conveys through him "the Spirit," is a perpetual root of controversy. Of course, it repels all liberal Jews. The very term "Son of God," as Paul uses it, is abhorrent to them. Moreover, Paul's theology is almost unintelligible to modern thinkers not deeply imbued with the atmosphere of Hellenistic religious thought. But I might say boldly, I neither expect nor desire to make any man a Paulinist in any save

the broad sense that the career and fate of Jesus, including the subsequent effect of his Spirit upon the world, *do* give insight into the nature, being, and purpose of the Creator, to whom Jesus looked up as his Father in heaven. In saying so I think I should be following exactly the entreaty of Paul himself, who hated above all things to be cited as head of a party. I ask no one to conform to Paul's theology. But how do you propose to have religion without any theology? And do you propose to leave out the story of Calvary in constructing it? If you do not find the Absolute somewhere in history, where *is* your religion? And what other factor of history is more pregnant of religious meaning than this? Paul looks at the drama of Calvary as the supreme instance of the working of God in history. He does not ask that we shall find in it precisely the same significance that he finds in it. But if we find in it no redemptive significance at all, both Paul and all serious inquirers for God in history will rightly hold us self-condemned. Are we trying to have an interpretation of history with God left out? If so, history itself is meaningless, a purposeless chaos of successive unintelligible events, a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.

It is nothing new to find "the word of the cross" unpopular with the intellectuals, both Jew and Gentile. But it is one thing to say: "I don't like Paul's in-

terpretation of its significance," and quite another thing to say, "I think we may leave all those questions out of consideration and fall back on the paternalistic theism of the Sermon on the Mount and the Lord's Prayer."

There is another reason why the religion *of* Jesus cannot, if it would, dispense with a religion *about* Jesus. We have seen that "liberal" theology of this type rests all on the supreme authority of this one Teacher, whose precise words it hopes finally to authenticate. But suppose the difficult work of unanimous authentication at last accomplished, whence shall we derive the authority to secure the acceptance of these teachings? How can we ask people to accept them merely because they are admitted to be those of Jesus, unless we teach them something *about* Jesus which is altogether unique? Paul, of course, believed that Jesus spoke and acted by the Spirit of God, however little he has to say either of Jesus' sayings or doings. But if you leave out Paul's theology, and substitute no other, how do you propose to secure for the teachings of Jesus any noticeably greater authority than for other great teachers, martyrs, and founders of religion? Why be so exclusive? Confucius and Lao-Tse have parallels to the Sermon on the Mount. Indian sages and Buddhist saints, beginning with Gautama himself, have ex-

pressed similar truths in living words and speaking lives. Hillel and other Jewish teachers of Jesus' time, and before it and after it, have taught his doctrine of devotion to God and love to man in words which Jesus himself quotes as the very substance of his own religion,—I mean Israel's creed, the *Shema,* of which he reminds the scribe who wished to be told the one and all-inclusive commandment, and the *Amidah* prayer, or Eighteen Blessings (*Shemoneh Esreh*), which he cites to the messengers of John as summing up the work God has given him to do, and cites again to the Sadducees, who deny his faith in the resurrection. If you conceive it as your missionary message to the modern world to "teach all men everywhere to obey all things whatsoever Jesus commanded," the first question they will ask you is, "Why should I?" And you will find it difficult to answer that question if you have made up your mind to ignore the apostolic message which went before it in the first missionary age: "All *authority* hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth." That authority, as we have seen, was witnessed in the living, active, redeeming Spirit of God which was in Jesus Christ, our Lord. Those whose words and lives reflect this Spirit are those who in religion can speak to us with authority. No others can.

II

I have called it a great tactical error on the part of certain leaders of progressive Christianity in the nineteenth century to have offered to an Age of Doubt as the ultimatum of the Christian message the paternalistic theism of the Sermon on the Mount and the Lord's Prayer, ignoring "the word of the cross" as controversial. I think it is Dean Inge who remarks somewhere in his very "outspoken" way that the gospel was not originally good advice, but good news. And the good news had to be brought home to men's hearts by the power of the living Spirit before they were willing to take the good advice. That redemptive Spirit, whatever the particular method of its working, is our authority. Different aspects of its working will be more effective with different ages and classes of people, but no other authority, ecclesiastical, biblical, or dogmatic can take its place.

Not all the liberal theology of the nineteenth century followed the mistaken lead of those who from their Matthean trend might be called the Neo-legalists. Dr. David Somerville, of Edinburgh, in the last of his Cunningham Lectures for 1897, entitled, "St. Paul's Conception of Christ," protests against the disposition to seek salvation

> in a fellowship with the Jesus of history, whose virtue takes effect upon us, and is exhausted, in the enlightenment of

our minds by the truths he taught, and in the encouragement of our wills by the pattern of goodness and nobleness of life he has left us.

To show its falsity to the actual facts of Christian development, he quotes from Johannes Weiss, of Marburg, an eminent New Testament critic who died during the war: [1]

It is an unpardonable historical blunder (says Weiss) to suppose that the faith of primitive Christendom was based on the impression of the earthly image of Christ. A school might have been formed, a hero-worship might have been instituted, had that been all; but a *religion* could arise only because the ancient Church was conscious that God had revealed Himself in the Resurrection and Exaltation of the Lord. The ancient Church derived inspiration and impulse, comfort and strength, from the living Image of Jesus also; but its faith and its hope did not rest upon that; they rested on its transcendent experiences of the reception of the Spirit, and its testimonies of the working of the Exalted Lord.

Whether or not it suits our notion of what Christianity should be, as a matter of plain historic fact even Harnack will have to agree that Weiss was right. Christianity as a religion took its start from the resurrection, not from the baptism, still less from the birth, of Jesus. As Paul has expressed it at the beginning of his exposition to the Romans of his own message:

[1] *Nachfolge Christi und die Predigt der Gegenwart*, p. 83.

Christ was indeed, so far as the mere flesh is concerned, born of the seed of David; but his designation by divine power to be the Son of God was through the resurrection from the dead.

And there is more than mere historical truth, there is logical necessity also, on the side of those who maintain that Christianity has always been and must always continue to be an interpretation of the act of God *in* Christ. We cannot conceive of any religion which does not focus on the action of God. There are many systems of ethics from Confucius to Epictetus, and down to our own time, which inform us, well or ill, what we should do for God and our fellowmen, but *religion* is concerned with what God has done or may be hoped to do for man.

In point of historical fact nobody in Jesus' time accused him of attempting to found a new religion. Least of all did he so regard his own work. He wanted to bring his fellow-Jews back to the religion of their fathers. What, then, did make Christianity a new religion? The act of God. As Paul very clearly saw, both before and after his conversion, the cross and resurrection made the difference. Christians taught that God had given his Son. *God* raised him from the dead. The sacred life was a manifestation of *God*. It brought a new conception of God's relation to man and man's to God. That was the new factor. That was the disturbing element

which made Christianity a new religion. When Paul wants to put the apostolic message in a nutshell he says:

> This is the ministry that was delivered unto us, how that God through the agency of Christ was reconciling the world unto himself (bringing it into at-one-ment with himself), not reckoning unto men their trespasses; and he hath delivered unto us (apostles and evangelists) the ministry of the Reconciliation (the Atonement).

Religion is concerned with the problem of right relations between man and God. Until you have something new to say on that problem, there is nothing new in your religion. "Liberal" Christianity, if you mean by it nothing more than the gospel "of" Jesus, issues in reformed Judaism. That is its logical conclusion. You may give the substance of the Law and the Prophets better than it was ever given before. Liberal Jews admit that Jesus did this. But for a "gospel" you must tell something more than what man should do for God. You must bring some new solution of the problem of evil. You must tell what God has done and is doing for men (in the Christian gospel through Jesus Christ). You must show us a way of redemption, for individual sinners and for a ruined world. That is Paulinism if you will. But historically, and logically also, that is Christianity. Second-century neo-legalism was just a Judaizing reaction.

I will admit, then, that we should give most earnest heed to the earthly life of Jesus. We cannot do too much for ascertaining the Mind of Christ on every question of faith and practice; for without this anchor in a living historic personality, our religion would evaporate in vague speculations like those of the Docetic Gnostics in the age after Paul.

But the very reason we study the life of the historical Jesus is because of what we know from past and present experience *about* the eternal Christ. Therefore I would close this preliminary weighing of the relative claims of the religion *of* Jesus and the religion *about* Jesus much as Somerville does in the chapter I have been quoting, where he deprecates the attempt

> to shift the emphasis of faith from the exalted to the earthly life of Jesus, ignoring the higher point of view from which the Apostle (Paul), regarding the life as a whole, saw in it a revelation of the saving purpose of God.

III

Let me turn for a moment from the blunder of the scholar, bent on satisfying an Age of Doubt by the authority of the scribe well instructed unto the kingdom of God occupying Moses' seat, to the more amazing blunder of the unlearned, seeking to renew at this late day the conflict of science with religion, in the

belief that the authority of a miraculous Bible will silence the troublesome questionings of the new age. The sweet reasonableness of the Ethical Culture Society is a poor substitute for the word of the cross and the witness of the redeeming Spirit, but the attempt to set reason itself at defiance, the only faculty we have, as Bishop Butler said, whereby to judge anything, were it revelation itself, is certainly the most hopeless method ever yet devised for winning back an age whose leading characteristic is its open rebellion against authority.

The strangest part of this movement to make the Bible take the place of science is that it flies squarely in the face of the Bible itself, reversing not only its greatest lessons in the battles of Jesus and Paul against the champions of letter against Spirit, but reversing some of the costliest lessons of the Church in former attempts to retain an antiquated scientific system, in spite of its rejection by the men of science, to serve as a foundation for its theology.

Forty-five years ago, when I graduated from Yale College to enter Yale Divinity School, Church and School alike were racked by the convulsive attempt to hold on to the fiat theory of creation, which in the period of the biblical writers had been the current scientific view, and to resist the theory of creation by evolution, which, since Darwin's then recent books, had displaced the fiat theory in the minds of the great

majority of scientists. Asa Gray in his lectures at Yale, Joseph LeConte in California, and Henry Drummond in his summing up of the futile controversy between Gladstone and Huxley, were the men who taught me to realize that the biblical writers did precisely what they should have done in using the current scientific ideas of their own day for the religious lessons they were endeavoring to teach, and that to pervert their moral and religious purpose into the task of defending an outworn scientific stronghold after its own builders had abandoned it was to do them a great injustice. An evolutionary creation is at least as spiritual a mode of divine action as a fiat creation, and to insist on holding to the latter as the necessary vehicle of our religious message merely because the Scriptural writers used it, is as if men should forbid our missionaries to travel by steam or airplane because in Scriptural times the horse was the limit of rapid transport.

Forty years ago the Church showed an incredible mental indolence not to realize that the issue had already been fought out on a more crucial issue when in Galileo's time it learned, after disastrous alienation of some of the greatest and devoutest of those who traced God's thought after Him in the heavens, that the Copernican system, however foreign to the Bible, is a far better vehicle than the Ptolemaic wherein to

consider the heavens the work of God's fingers, the moon and the stars which He hath ordained. Only after disastrous losses had been sustained in the attempt to fight on the losing side of a scientific battle (wherein the Church really had no concern), Cardinal Bellarmine at last enunciated the principle that "The Bible was not given to teach how the heavens go, but how to go to heaven." That should have been understood before.

Surely after *two* such experiences of bad leadership the Church might expect to be spared the humiliating spectacles of the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy of to-day! As I write, a contributor to "The New Republic" (June 23, 1926) raises the question, under the caption "Brains in Religion," whether we have indeed reached the point where science and faith must part company. Let me quote:

> The promise which the intellect makes to the soul of man in return for being allowed to deal with the problems of his moral and spiritual destiny is the promise of progress. It says in effect: "I will install the principle of progress in the very heart of religion. See what I have done in other realms. Medicine, technology, and education were static until I came. Wherever I go, progress follows. Without my coöperation, religion tends to petrify in conservatism. . . . Youth has ever flocked to the standard of an imperial adventure. But fear has gotten the better of faith (since the time of the founders) and religion has ended by exchanging the word "enquire" (seek), which was the message

of Jesus, for the word "accept," the symbol of ecclesiastical bondage. Is it any wonder that "the shades of the prison house begin to close" and that "the vision splendid" dies away "into the light of common day?"

And he adds:

> With great issues of our civilization at stake it would be a tragedy if religious aspiration and intellectual research should fail to achieve an understanding.

No one doubts that to-day great issues of our Christian civilization are at stake. We are all aware also of the enormous increase, since the war, of religious interest and inquiry, an interest which in part accounts for the strange recrudescence of the present attempt to set the findings of science and religion at variance. But the most misguided of all the disastrous attempts to win back an Age of Doubt by a gospel of dogmatic authority is surely that which seeks to impose implicit faith in the letter of the Bible, without even that liberty, tolerance, and progressive adaptation of inner principles to newly emerging conditions which are the very spirit of the Bible itself.

One word more as to this amazing attempt to regain authority in an Age of Doubt by renewing the conflicts of the past between science and religion. It seems to be imagined in certain ill-informed quarters that the old bone (or perhaps I should say "bones") of contention between biblicist and scientist is still in the field of geology, or paleontology. The ordi-

nary newspaper reader imagines that the structure of theology is still threatened by discoveries of human remains,—yes, cultures and civilizations,—that existed thousands of years before the biblical Adam. The man in the street, and a few others who appear never to have emerged from their theological cloisters, are still living among the echoes of that outworn conflict between Genesis and geology which died a natural death some forty years ago. The man who knows something of the growth both of science and theology in the last forty years knows that the issue of to-day lies in a totally different field. The foe of the biblicist to-day is not the geologist or paleontologist, and the field of conflict is wider. It has spread over the whole Bible, from Genesis to Revelation. It is keenest of all in the Gospels, the record-house of those thoughts of Jesus, that creed of Christ, for which critics of the Pauline school are no less concerned than those who propose to make them (when agreed upon) the ultimate rock-foundation of religious authority. The foe of the biblicist to-day is not the geologist, but the critical historian. The science he has to dread is the relatively new, but prodigiously growing, science of documentary analysis, source criticism, and the comparison of historical records.

As in all previous conflicts between scientists and religionists, one party in the church is for silencing the new interpreters of Christian history by an as-

sertion of dogmatic authority. Who are these blasphemous invaders of our sacred ground who dare to pretend that modern methods of critical inquiry can give a clearer view of the actual work of God when the Church of Christ began, than writers belonging to the age of the Apostles? Have not we, the theologians, already harmonized all apparent differences to our own satisfaction? Others, who see not why historical science, pursued with that devotion to the truth at all costs without which science is not science, should be harmful now any more than in former days, wish to apply its methods to Bible story in general, including the narrative books of the New Testament. When the writers of the creation story in Genesis took over the cosmology of their day to make it the vehicle of their message of God in creation it was a very crude kind of cosmological science, but they used the best there was, and they bettered it, though they did not make it scientifically strong, in the using. When the story of the deliverance from the Egyptian house of bondage and the conquest of Canaan was told by prophets of the succession of Elijah, the smiting in twain of the Red Sea and the standing still of the sun and moon at the word of Joshua were part of the story of Jehovah's deliverance in days before men knew how to distinguish between critical history and poetic or legendary embellishment. Critical history was as much beyond the

horizon of human knowledge two centuries ago as geology or paleontology. To-day it is knocking at our doors; and it certainly is not in accord with the mind of him who promised us the guidance of his Spirit of Truth, bidding us seek, because we should find, knock, because the door should be opened unto us, to treat these would-be servants of the truth as enemies, desperately resisting each new contribution offered because, forsooth, it supersedes that which the fathers had used as the vehicle of their version of the message. Why should there be a conflict of science and religion in the field of historico-critical research, or in any other? Scientific truth asks nothing better than to be used as the handmaid of religious faith, and to put better vehicles at our service than those which served our forefathers. Must we then still travel by ox-cart and pack-train, refusing the aid of steam and electricity?

> Let knowledge grow from more to more,
> But more of reverence in us dwell,
> That mind and soul according well
> May make one music as before,
>
> But vaster.

IV

The biblical scholar who takes modern historical and documentary criticism by the hand as a willing

servant and friend does so with the purpose of applying to the primitive, uncritical reports of New Testament narrative every resource of historical research. Chiefly must criticism be applied in the Gospels, with their four-fold aspect of the story of those eventful days from Nazareth to Calvary, wherein God worked through the agency of Christ to bring the world into at-one-ment with Himself. We want all that can be obtained by any method of the words of Jesus in their most accurate form and meaning. We want the fullest and most accurate account of his career that historical research can give us. And we want these not merely that we may understand *his* mind, but to understand the mind of God. The true biblical critic is an apostle and evangelist. Like Paul, but independently, he would draw from every record, by every means in his power, what God did "through the agency of Christ." Whatever pretended biblical science has any other aim than this is false to religion and false to science as well. Let me briefly state some of the most widely accepted results of biblical criticism in the special field of the Gospels.

Modern New Testament criticism as a systematic attempt to connect the primitive literature of the Church with its actual life, interpreting each with reference to the other, may be said to begin with F. C. Baur and the school Baur drew about him at Tübingen almost a century ago. Before that, there had

been desultory conflicts between the opponents and apologists of received tradition, with little result beyond the raising of doubts. Baur proposed to sweep the board clean of doubted writings and build on the undoubted. Nobody had then ever questioned the authenticity of the great signed writings of Paul, written a score of years after Jesus' death by an associate of Peter and other eye-witnesses. The Pauline Epistles were all the more reliable for the indirectness of their testimony. In Paul's time the story of Jesus' life and teaching was not in dispute. It is only referred to incidentally. Therefore what little is given by Paul is the more undeniable. We have later writings, called Gospels, handed down by the Church, and a few other documents. None of the writings save Paul's are easy to date; most of them are not even supplied with a superscription to tell us when or where or by whom they were written; and the few which have a superscription are subject to serious dispute. These post-Pauline writings should take their place, Baur thought, as secondary witnesses. The value of their testimony, he considered, should be determined by the measure of their agreement with the primary, the greater Epistles of Paul. This method of procedure from the known toward the relatively unknown is what I should call constructive, as against the mere negative criticism antecedent to Baur. Its rock-foundation is the Corpus Paulinum. The point

of difference would come, and did come, in the application. What should we infer from Paul?

Every one admits to-day that much that Baur inferred was wrong. But that should not detract from his credit on the main issue. The great Pauline Epistles *are* a proved guarantee for the historicity of the gospel story. For the case is much stronger now than in Baur's time. True, the four great Epistles,—Romans, First and Second Corinthians, and Galatians,—which Baur took as his foundation for the history of New Testament literature because he supposed they never would be disputed, have since been challenged. They are declared unauthentic by a small coterie of what we may call freak critics. Baur, we must admit, was much saner than some who tried to imitate him afterward. But the chief result of this attempt to discredit the Pauline Epistles has been to establish their authenticity ten times more firmly than before. We now have the added proof, accepted by Baur's own followers, that the smaller Epistles which Baur rejected as doubtful, I Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon, are genuine, while only a slight haze of doubt still clings to II Thessalonians, Ephesians, and a few verses of Colossians. The tendency is to admit more, including parts of II Timothy and Titus. The authenticity of the greater Pauline Epistles is one outstanding result of one hundred years of New Testament criticism.

It is indeed fortunate for the Church that its oldest writings have received this splendid vindication. It does give a firm foundation. But critically speaking, it gives very little more. As every one knows, Paul never alludes to one of Jesus' mighty works. He barely mentions incidentally one or two of his sayings. He is all taken up with "the word of the cross." His enemies said he *could* not give what they regarded as the proper witness of an apostle, a report of what Jesus had said and done in the flesh. Paul himself said he *would* not, even if he had known a Christ after the flesh. Anyway, he *did* not. When he wants to define what he means by the "Mind of Christ" Paul falls back on the story of Calvary set forth in language modeled on Isaiah 53. We who, like Paul, are of those who "have not seen and yet have believed" must get our more specific information from what remains of the preaching of Peter. That is the second great result of a century of New Testament criticism. Gospel story is a post-apostolic development. It is in substance the witness of Peter. But the essential witness of Peter can be reached only indirectly, and largely through the allusions made by Paul.

After his conversion Paul went up to Jerusalem to "get the story of Peter" (ἱστορῆσαι Πέτρον), and so must we. But Peter was not a literary man. We have reason to think, both from what Paul says and from

ancient tradition, that Peter did just what Paul's opponents found fault with Paul for not doing. Peter related "the sayings and doings of the Lord." But the record of this preaching, whether by Peter or by others of the Twelve, is not given us by themselves. It comes to us only through their followers belonging to the sub-apostolic generation. Gospel criticism, in the proper sense, is the attempt to recover from this sub-apostolic, anonymous report the largest possible amount of authentic material, thus filling out the scanty outline of Paul's "word of the cross." Criticism is an unfinished task. The nineteenth century gave us the great achievement of the authentication of the Pauline Epistles. It left to later hands the sifting of gospel tradition for the authentic sayings and doings of Jesus. Our present concern, then, is with Petrine tradition, gospel story as handed down. The method employed is gospel criticism.

It may awaken some surprise that I speak of the Church's record of the sayings and doings of Jesus as all "Petrine" and post-apostolic, making no mention of the apostolic names of Matthew and John. Some do indeed speak confidently of "early" traditions which add these names to Peter's as reporters of the facts. This use of the term "early" is relative. The name of "Matthew" appears, it is true, superscribed to the Gospel which is placed first in

our canon about 150 A. D. But modern criticism is unanimous in rejecting the claim, at least in its intended sense, as we have implied in calling the work "secondary" (to Mark) and "non-apostolic." The earliest mention of Matthew by this title is later by some forty years than that which connects the name of Peter with Mark. The statement is made by Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, near Ephesus, in his attempt to vindicate against heretical teachers the Church's interpretation of the Lord's "commandments." Papias declared that these had been "compiled" by Matthew. This shows that in his time (140–150 A. D.) the Gospel according to Matthew bore the same title as now. Previously, before it achieved circulation outside its original home (probably Antioch), it had been known simply as "the" Gospel. It is still so called by several second-century writers where there is no danger of confusion with other Gospels. It was given the name "according to Matthew," to distinguish it from other writings of its kind after two or more had come into use in the same community. Originally anonymous, like all of its class, this Gospel was ascribed to the Apostle Matthew for reasons which can only be conjectured.[1] It was supposed to have been translated

[1] A possible explanation has been offered by myself in an article entitled "Why 'According to Matthew'?" in *The Expositor* for October, 1920 (VIII, 118), pp. 289–310.

from the "Hebrew." Papias assumes without investigation this mistaken idea. In reality, Matthew is based on the Greek Gospel of Mark, and uses the Greek Old Testament. Nor is this Gospel used (when used at all) in the time before Papias as if it were an authoritative apostolic work.[1] Papias' assumption, therefore, that this Gospel was the translation of a writing by the Apostle Matthew, an idea current in his time, is not to be classed with the really early and probably authentic tradition which he obtained from one of "the elders, the disciples of the Apostles," regarding the origin of the Gospel according to Mark. This latter tradition goes back to the first decades of the second century and is of the utmost value. That relating to Matthew is a mistaken conjecture.

Still later is the origin of the title "according to John." The fourth Gospel is an attempt to retell the story from the theological viewpoint of Paul. The first explicit ascription of it to the Apostle John dates from 185 A. D. Such faint traces of acquaintance with it as are obtainable before 185 are very far from what we should expect if, during the first half-century of the Gospel's existence, it had been regarded as the work of an Apostle. It appeared at Ephesus not long after the Apocalypse. This latter writing was published in 95 A. D. and definitely declares itself to be

[1] Ignatius uses it in 112 A. D., but sometimes prefers the statement of uncanonical writers.

the work of "John." Coming from the same church, shortly after, and bearing no author's name, it is not strange that the Gospel also should ultimately be ascribed to the same author, although the very broad differences between the two writings called "of John" made this incredible even for ancient critics. Even under its new title, acceptance for the fourth Gospel was very slowly achieved.

These two superscriptions, "according to Matthew" and "according to John," can therefore be traced no further back than the period of the formation of our four-gospel canon in 150–180 A. D. I need hardly say what enormous influence the titles have exercised, nor remind you that they are still defended by some as if they were a part of the original writings, instead of mere captions prefixed by second-century editors. In fact, the second-century tradition is made a kind of utterance from heaven itself with which it would be impious to disagree. But why should Christians be charged with burdens like those traditions of the scribes by which Jesus said they made the word of God itself of none effect? It is possible completely to spoil the sense of a writing by ascribing it to the wrong author at the wrong time and place.

Whatever their origin or reliability, these second-century titles "according to Matthew," "according to John," belong in a totally different class from the

really ancient tradition which connects the name of Peter with the Gospel of Mark. This report antedates the great conflict with Marcion and the Gnostics, when the Church was challenged to authenticate its writings. This is significant. The tradition regarding Mark, you see, makes only the same modest claim as was made on behalf of Luke, instead of seeking the dignity of some revered apostolic name. Moreover, instead of being in conflict, like the titles superscribed to Matthew and John, with the contents of the writing, the title "according to Mark" fits extremely well. Already in 152 A. D. we find Justin Martyr at Rome referring to the work as "Reminiscences of Peter" collected by a "companion" of the Apostle. This is not only in agreement with the tradition reported by Justin's contemporary Papias, but in addition is in keeping with the character and structure of the writing. These *Memorabilia of Peter* by his "companion" Mark constitute our earliest extant Gospel. They have the character described: disconnected anecdotes from the preaching of Peter of sayings and doings of the Lord.

But Mark was not really first. Not only does Luke refer to "many" predecessors, but critics recognize traces of an older source in Matthew and Luke, and this Second Source of Matthew and Luke was probably used to less extent by Mark also. It becomes recognizable where Matthew and Luke draw from it, in

common, matter not found in Mark. Other material derived from it is less easily identified.

Some attach the name of "Matthew" to this Second Source. They know the name does not belong to the Gospel to which the ancients attached it, therefore they attach it to one of the factors. But the reasoning is fallacious. What Papias said in 150 A. D. about our Gospel of Matthew cannot be fitted at all to this precanonical source reconstructed by nineteenth-century critics. Both Matthew and Luke subordinate it to Mark. To them as well as to modern critics, it is really "Second." Hence neither can have regarded it as the work of an Apostle. As for the identifiable extracts from it, they do not even mention the name of Matthew, but make Peter the leading figure to a much greater extent than Mark. If this were a reason for attaching to it the name of any particular Apostle, we ought to call the Second Source by Peter's name. In reality, it has the religious and literary quality of the Epistle of James. Structurally, it uses a brief outline of narrative for a series of discourses, as Acts does for the discourses of Peter in its earlier part. This is the literary form of the so-called Stoic *Diatribe*. It was a favorite style of composition for religious propaganda.[1] Like all early gospels, the Second Source was almost certainly

[1] A second-century example would be the so-called *Clementine Homilies*.

anonymous. It is free in recasting. Nevertheless, it gives us the best idea of Jesus' teaching obtainable from any quarter. To avoid question-begging titles, we should speak of it simply as the "Second Source." Please do *not* call it Q, or "The Logia." The proper application of those terms is different.

Our conception of the contents and character of the Second Source is based primarily on the so-called Q material, the "double-tradition material," found coincident in Matthew and Luke, but not included in Mark. Whatever else we ascribe to it must be tested by this standard. Papias has nothing whatever to say about it.

V

What estimate, then, must the critical historian put on these two earliest post-apostolic records? The incomparable value of a source without which we should not have either the Sermon on the Mount or the Lord's Prayer does not need to be emphasized. But you will readily see, once inapplicable traditions have been cleared away, why I speak of gospel material in general as "Petrine" and "post-apostolic." Other witnesses besides Peter doubtless had an important share in transmitting the priceless story. But like the author of the Q material, they are nameless. It is only second-century tradition which offers any names at

all as authors of the various compilations of the sayings and doings; and if we go back to the beginnings of that century, tradition itself knows but one name as proclaimer of the story of Jesus. It is the name of Peter. The exact words of Papias as he reports this primitive testimony of "the elder" are as follows:

> Mark, who had been interpreter for Peter, wrote down correctly such items as he could remember, whether of the sayings or doings of Christ; not, however, in order.

That is all the second-century Church knew about the origin of its Gospels. The testimony is meager enough. But we have no reason to question its reliability. The speaker is one of the group of "elders, the disciples of the Apostles" at Jerusalem, a group who were looked to as guardians of apostolic tradition before their scattering in 135, after the second Jewish war. John of Jerusalem, who was still surviving when Papias made his inquiries, was an actual disciple of Apostles.[1] He died in 117, if we may trust the late witness of Epiphanius. Later writers, such as Irenæus, insisted that this John of Jerusalem was no other than the Apostle John, the son of Zebedee; but Eusebius proved from Papias' own words

[1] Papias names with this "Elder John" an otherwise unknown "Aristion." By dittography the text has "disciples of the Lord" (τουκῡ). It should probably read "of these" (τουτῶ), that is, the Apostles named, Andrew, Peter, etc.

that the John in question was only one of this post-apostolic group of elders.

Ancient testimony to the origin of the Gospels is therefore limited to the utterance of John the Elder in 100–117 A. D., recorded by Papias in 140–150. As Zahn, the great conservative scholar, has shown, "the elder" was not making a comparison of the Gospel of Mark with some other Gospel. That comparison is made by Papias, who had to defend his use of Mark as supplementary to Matthew. Neither did the elder know anything about Q, the material critics ascribe to a Second Source. Papias' elder simply passed judgment upon a book submitted to him as "Memorabilia" (ἀπομνημονεύματα) of Peter compiled by Mark. His verdict is on the whole favorable. "Yes," he says, "Mark really was in contact with Peter. The sequence of his narrative is not what it would have been if he had himself been a follower of the Lord, or had had access to those who were; but his compilation is careful and reliable (ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν)." We know, then, that Peter on various occasions was accustomed to relate, as we should expect and as Paul also implies, stories of "the sayings and doings of the Lord."

Alongside this one reliable datum from antiquity, modern criticism places two established results of its own. The first is the priority of Mark, the doctrine that the two Gospels ascribed respectively to Matthew

and Luke are based upon the Gospel of Mark, making up from it virtually their whole narrative outline. The second critical result is the doctrine of the Second Source, that the Q material, common to Matthew and Luke but not found in Mark, is not derived by direct dependence of one of these two Gospels on the other, but from a writing used by both, if not by all three synoptists, in common. This second datum of modern criticism is not quite so universally accepted as the priority of Mark, but the two together constitute what is known as the "Two-document Theory," the most widely accepted solution of the synoptic problem, the problem caused by the simultaneous coincidences and differences of Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

Before we proceed farther with our valuation of sources, particularly the Second, it is important to interpose a word of caution against certain widespread causes of confusion. (1) Q is not the Second Source pure and simple. For exactitude the symbol should not be used of a source, not of a gospel, not of any complete writing or document whatever. It really designates simply what English critics used to call "double-tradition" material, that is, certain sections of Matthew and Luke which are not found in Mark. Why these particular sections agree word for word in the two Gospels is the question to be solved. As Matthew and Luke appear to be mutually inde-

pendent they were probably drawn from a common source; but if you attempt to fit them together, they do not produce a unit. The closeness of the agreement shows that the material was written, not oral; for it is closer than where Mark is transcribed. But it is next to impossible to restore the original sequence, and very little can be identified except discourse material. The lack of identifiable Q narrative does not show that the Second Source was exclusively, or even preponderantly, composed of discourses. Preponderance of discourse may be shown on other grounds, but it does not follow from the fact that Matthew and Luke where they coincide in narrative usually rest on Mark. That merely shows that they gave Mark the preference in this line. Where they obtained most of the little narrative they do give, when one or the other departs from Mark, we do not know. Only in a few cases does it appear to be drawn from the Second Source. Whether the narrative they draw in common from Mark was originally drawn by Mark himself from this same Second Source (for according to most critics it was known to Mark also), we do not know. Let me repeat: Q is not the Second Source. That document we may designate S. Q stands for a *part* of the material derived from S, that part which we are able to identify by the fact that Mark did not choose to embody it, whereas *both* later Evangelists did. The parts of S which Mark *did* choose to embody, or

which either one of the later Evangelists did *not* choose to embody, we simply cannot identify. If we call elements found in only one Gospel "single-tradition" material, we can at best establish from its likeness or unlikeness to Q a probability or improbability of connection with the Source. Besides these portions of S which we cannot identify, but which are undoubtedly present in various parts of the surviving material, there must have been also considerable elements which have perished altogether, because neither Mark nor Matthew nor Luke thought best to embody them. S, then, the Second Source, was a more extensive document in certain directions than the Q material from which we try to reconstruct it.

But again, S may in certain other directions have been considerably less extensive than Q. All critics have observed that whereas some of the Q material is word for word the same in Matthew and Luke, other portions are widely divergent. Do both come from the same document? If so, we must find an explanation of the difference. In many cases this can be done. The idiosyncrasies of Matthew and Luke are known to some extent. Sometimes they explain the difference as due to editorial change on one side or the other. Sometimes they do not. Again, Luke has long sections of Q material intercalated into the narrative he draws from Mark. These sections are known to critics as the shorter and longer interpola-

tions. They extend over several chapters without any interruption of inserted Markan material. But if the interpolated material is all drawn from the same document, why should Luke not give it in the order in which he found it? Yet manifestly he did not. The order is all topsyturvy. Pieces which belong together, and which are found connected in Matthew, are separated by others which themselves belong elsewhere. Luke's theoretic framework of a journey to Jerusalem, sometimes spoken of as the travel-document of his "former treatise," is generally recognized among critics as a mere editorial device. Why should Luke construct this artificial order for his material if he took it from a single document? Why change the order in which he found it, when he leaves virtually unchanged the order of Mark, admittedly none of the best?

Again, why does Matthew have none of the beautiful "story-parables" which are the jewels of Luke? One has only to ask a few such questions as these to show that the process of reconstructing the hypothetical document S by merely putting the Q sections one after the other might be expected to produce just the result which Resch declares it actually did produce, "a heap of ruins." All we can affirm with certainty is this: there is at least one common source behind Matthew and Luke from which some important parts of the Q material are drawn. But self-mystification

can be avoided. It would relieve the subject of much confusion if people would cease to talk about Q when they really mean S, and of S when they really mean Q.

(2) Another great burden of misconception would be removed if critics (including some of the most widely known) would cease to speak of the Second Source as "The Logia." That is a term borrowed from Papias, who did not mean by it the title of a book, and if he had, would not mean by it the Second Source; for neither he nor any writer that we know of earlier than the nineteenth century had the remotest suspicion that such a source existed. What Papias spoke of as the *logia* (little l, if you please) were the precepts of Jesus, about whose proper meaning his book was written. Papias complains in his preface of the false teachers who perverted the meaning of "the logia of the Lord," just as his "comrade" Polycarp does, just as his excerptor Irenæus does. Papias names them "commandments of the Lord delivered to the faith." He and all his Christian contemporaries in 140–150 thought of these "precepts" or "oracles" (λόγια) of the Lord just as they thought of the ten commandments given to Moses on Sinai, the δέκα λόγια, as Philo calls them. They held that they were "derived from the truth itself," that is, came from the infinitude of truth in heaven, and after being "delivered" by Jesus had been "compiled" in a book, a code, or σύνταξις τῶν λογίων, by the Apostle Matthew.

When people use the terms of Papias they ought to use them in the sense they bore to Papias and his contemporaries. Especially ought they to beware of applying them to things Papias and his contemporaries had never dreamed of. Papias thought of the Gospel of Matthew as intended to teach all men everywhere to obey all things whatsoever Jesus had commanded. That is precisely what the Evangelist does intend, in spite of some moderns who cannot see any difference in purpose between this Gospel and its companion Gospels. Therefore Papias refers his readers to the Gospel of Matthew for an authoritative compend of those "commandments of the Lord" about whose interpretation disputes existed. Peter, he says, had no design of preparing a code of the logia, but only told disconnected anecdotes of the Lord's sayings and doings. But Matthew had prepared a complete and orderly compend where all the logia could be found; only they needed "interpretation," for unlike Peter, who had Mark as his interpreter, Matthew had no such official aid, but "every man translated as best he could." If we talk about "the logia," let us use the term in its proper sense, not as if it were the title of a book spelled with a capital L. To a second-century reader the Logia would have meant the Old Testament. Nor could "the logia" mean a collection of Messianic proof-texts such as Cyprian compiled in later times,

and such as may have been in use already in Papias' time for aught we know. The possibility of such collections is quite immaterial. We only know that when Papias and his "comrade" Polycarp and his excerptor Irenæus talk about *the Lord's* logia, the logia whose sense they declare to be perverted by the heretics, they mean the "commandments (ἐντολαί) delivered by the Lord to the faith." They looked for them in a "Syntaxis" which they regarded as compiled by Matthew in the Hebrew tongue, of which, however, there was no authoritative translation, so that people who desired to know the real and authentic sense must go to interpreters acquainted (as Papias claims to be, both directly and indirectly) with the testimony of the elders, custodians of "the living and abiding voice."

Papias and his contemporaries were mistaken in supposing that the Gospel of Matthew was composed in Hebrew. Of course, if you go back far enough, the principal elements of Matthew, like the elements of all other Gospels, are derived from Aramaic sources. But this Gospel itself is based on Greek writings, the Gospel of Mark (in Greek), and the Greek Old Testament. The second-century fathers erred also in taking Matthew to be the work of an Apostle and eye-witness. On the contrary, its story is borrowed from Mark, himself only a secondary wit-

ness. They cite no tradition about these assumed ideas, which doubtless rest on mere speculation and conjecture. But they were not mistaken in their recognition of the character and purpose of this secondary Gospel. Matthew (as we still call the book) does aim to give a syntagma of the commandments delivered by the Lord to the faith. It does use the story of Mark as a framework for five great agglutinations of the precepts, just as the Pentateuch uses the story of the exodus as a framework for the commandments and discourses of Moses. It does present in a so-called Sermon on the Mount the whole duty of the Christian disciple, ending with a colophon, or closing rubric, which recurs at the end of the four subsequent discourses, and nowhere else, thus dividing the Gospel into five books of the commandments of Jesus, prefaced by a prologue (chapters 1–2) and closed by an epilogue (chapters 26–28). It does give, after a second narrative introduction, a second discourse on the whole duty of the missionary preacher. This is the discourse to the Twelve as they are sent out, in Matthew 10. It does introduce next a discourse in parables prefaced by a narrative showing how Jesus' message was rejected in Galilee (Mt. 13). It does give next, after a fourth introductory narrative, a discourse on leadership in the Church (Mt. 18). Finally, after the story of how Jesus made his appeal to Jerusalem, it does conclude the series

of public discourses with a great discourse on the doom of Jerusalem and the final judgment (Mt. 23–25).

Papias and his contemporaries knew little about the history of the Gospel of Matthew, but they understood its character and purpose much better than the majority of moderns. A second-century defender who speaks of it as the "five books of Matthew against the God-slaying people of the Jews" is not far astray. For the bitterness of this Gospel against the ruling element in Judaism is one of the confirmations of its derivation from Jewish-Christian circles, as early tradition maintained. When Papias and all his contemporaries go to Matthew as the standard compend of the Lord's commandments, explaining that if they use Mark also, it is only for "some things" (ἕνια), and not as if Mark were an Apostle or could give things in their order, they show that they have an excellent appreciation of the relative value (for their own purposes) of each of these two Gospels. But when modern critics take what Papias said about Matthew and make of it a criterion of the source which they themselves claim to have reconstructed by processes of documentary analysis, they set all scientific rules at defiance. And quite naturally they arrive at results which only make confusion worse confounded. Papias had three things to say about Matthew: (1) It was written by the Apostle

Matthew; (2) it gave a full compend of the precepts of Jesus; (3) it was composed in Hebrew. There is something to be said for each of these three propositions when applied to the Gospel of Matthew. But each of the three is completely falsified when you apply it to the document for which it was not intended, but to which some modern critics wish to apply it. The Q material of Matthew and Luke undoubtedly reveals the existence of at least one source earlier than any of our extant Gospels. There really was once a Second Source besides Mark, and it did have several great discourses (διατριβαί; not apothegms, λόγια) of Jesus. But (1) it was not the work of Matthew or any other Apostle. (2) It was not (at least not when embodied by Matthew and Luke in coincident Greek words) an Aramaic or "Hebrew" composition. (3) It was not a syntaxis of the oracles. It was a narrative (διήγησις) of the sort Luke expressly refers to, and it told the story of Jesus' ministry with the special object of proving to the reader that he was no other than that Servant and Son whom God sent to Israel according to promise as the incarnation of His own redemptive Spirit of Wisdom.

If we will simply clear our minds of these two false identifications of the Q material in Matthew and Luke, unnecessarily brought in by the overeagerness of critics to capitalize and find confirmation for their discoveries, we shall find ourselves in much better

position for scientific consideration of what is really known concerning this far-famed Second Source. Set down: (1) The Q material is not the Second Source, but only the material to which we go in our effort to reconstruct it. Set down: (2) The Second Source is not "The Logia spoken of by Papias," and the less we are misguided by that false identification, the better for our conclusions. When those two principles are clearly fixed, the road is open.

VI

If, then, we would sum up the simple facts as to Gospel origins known to antiquity, they will be about as follows: Our first clear and positive information comes from the middle of the second century, when Papias in Asia and Justin in Rome were battling against the Gnostics to vindicate the authenticity of the Petrine tradition and its true historic sense. For they held that it had been perverted by such men as Basilides in Alexandria and Marcion at Rome, both of whom used Luke as "the" Gospel. Basilides in Alexandria claimed to give the true "interpretation" (he wrote twenty-four books of ἐξηγήτικα on the Gospel of Luke), alleging as his authority a certain Glaukias, an "interpreter" of Peter. Marcion at Rome undertook to expurgate the interpolations which he said Paul's opponents had introduced into the same

Gospel of Luke. Both heretics perform for us this kind service: they pick out a gospel of which Papias says nothing, but which certainly depends upon Mark, and is therefore later in date. And they prove by their treatment of this Gospel of Luke that it was no recent composition in their time. Mark, which is used by Luke, was therefore considerably older still.

Now let us turn from the Gnostic heretics to Papias, champion of the orthodox tradition. We may pass over with a single word his great interest in the doctrine of resurrection and judgment, whereby he provides sanction for the "commandments." Second Peter in a similar way comes to the aid of Jude with an authoritative eschatology. Papias became the great leader of the second-century millenarians, or "chiliasts," by insisting on the credibility (ἀξιόπιστος) of the Revelation. He held that the statement of the writer in Rev. 1: 9–11 "I John was in the Spirit and heard a great voice saying, What thou seest write in a book, and send it to the seven churches," should be "believed." Hence the fragment (applied in later times to the Gospel instead of the Revelation of John) which alleges that Papias had said that John while yet in the body had "received the revelation" and given it out to the churches. Papias probably knew our fourth Gospel in some form and under some name. But the evidence that he used it is meager and indirect. We have nothing to show that he noticed

Luke at all. Perhaps he disregarded it as in dispute. He undoubtedly knew the Revelation, and this he regarded as an authentic writing of the Apostle John. So much for Papias the chiliast. But we are concerned with Papias' fight against the Gnostics for the true "interpretation of the Lord's precepts," and he based this on Matthew, bringing also to bear the supplementary evidence of the memoirs of Peter given out by Mark and the traditions he had obtained from the Elder John and other "disciples of the Apostles." Such is the attitude of the representative spokesman of the Church in the middle of the second century over against those who were "perverting the oracles of the Lord to their own lusts and denying the resurrection and judgment." Matthew was Papias' apostolic standard for the "oracles"; John, *the seer of Patmos,* for the "resurrection and judgment."

Papias followed the ordinary assumption of his own age in taking the apostolic authorship of Matthew for granted. He is not to be blamed for that. We must simply take the testimony he has to give for the generation preceding his own for what it is worth, and not press him for information where he has none to offer. If we take the advice of Polycarp and "turn to the tradition handed down from the very first," we shall learn of a certain elder, a disciple of the Apostles, who within the early decades of the second century replies to inquiries concerning the

Gospel of Mark. This is some forty years earlier than Papias, at a time when Mark appears to be the only written gospel known. This elder, whom we identify with John of Jerusalem, who died in 117, gives the work a qualified endorsement. Mark, to whom the memorabilia were ascribed, had indeed been an "interpreter of Peter." He had done careful work as far as he had gone. He only gave "some" of the sayings and doings of the Lord, such as he could remember, and not in such order as an Apostle or eye-witness could have supplied. The natural inference (actually drawn by Irenæus) is that the age of the teaching of the Apostles, regarded by Clement as ending with Nero's reign, was past. The elder is evidently judging the Gospel of Mark by its contents, and judging it well. He acknowledges its authenticity; he approves its workmanship; he correctly defines its character. But he does not fail to point out (and this you would expect from one of the custodians of the apostolic tradition) that it falls considerably short of his ideal. You cannot get from it either a complete account of the Lord's teaching, nor can you get such a narrative of his career as an eye-witness would have given. These are just the defects which Matthew and Luke attempt to remedy. Matthew tried to give a complete compend (σύνταξις) of the precepts. Luke tries to give a consecutive narrative (διήγησις) which will be really "in order." Neither of these two later

Evangelists has the means of properly effecting his purpose. Both do what they can. Both make the Second Source their principal quarry for new material, having quite different objects in view.

Such was the situation at the threshold of the second century when the Greek-speaking churches were awakening to the necessity of supplementing the defects of the primitive "Memoirs of Peter" given out (as tradition and criticism agree) from the great Gentile church at Rome after the death of the Apostles.

VII

Once we realize the nature of these primitive, undated, anonymous writings out of which the witness of Peter has to be restored, it becomes apparent that New Testament scholars of the twentieth century have before them in gospel criticism quite as difficult a task as had those of the nineteenth in authenticating the witness of Paul. Many, no doubt, feel a certain disappointment as they realize that only patient analysis and careful scientific research can recover for us what nineteenth-century liberalism cheerfully pointed to as "the central verities," the "rock of certainty" on which our faith could be securely built. Thoughtful men, once they realize what sort of yoke they would be imposing on themselves by thus making the historical

critic a new "scribe of the kingdom," binding and loosing for us what we should receive and what reject as unauthentic, will probably say, "Give me rather Paul's witness of the ever-living Spirit, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever." But first a word in defense of criticism, especially of those students of gospel story who would be workers together with Paul in manifesting the ceaseless work of God throughout the ages, whereby in Christ the world is still being brought into reconciliation with Himself.

We undoubtedly could still be Christians if we had no other documents of the faith than the Epistles of Paul. They would suffice to bring us into contact with the Spirit of God as it was in Jesus. But we should be immeasurably poorer. We need every fragment of the sayings and doings of Jesus that the records can supply, in order to know what kind of Spirit we are of. We talk about loving, trusting, following a Heavenly Father. As a matter of plain fact, we should scarcely know what we meant by the term if not a Christlike God, God as Jesus knew Him, the "God and Father of Jesus," as Paul calls Him. Therefore the story of the sayings and doings of Jesus is indispensable. No doubt, there is a great Mechanician who constructed the universe and keeps the stars in their courses. The undevout astronomer is mad. Ancient poets and sages called Him Father or Creator of all. But what should we know about

the God of love and sacrifice and redemption, the "Father in heaven" of Jesus, if we had no facilities to apprehend those human qualities which are summed up in the words, "the Spirit of Jesus"? The Gospels aim to bring us into contact with that. We cannot prize their record too highly. And just because they mean so much to us, we dare not apply anything less to them than the keenest criticism science can invent. We have four reports, all varying more or less. We cannot escape comparing them, adjusting them, fitting them to one another and to their several times as best we may. We cannot escape criticism. God never meant we should. He never meant that we should either neglect it or be afraid of it or be helplessly dependent on it. He meant it to be our guide through the Scriptures to Himself.

For what is biblical criticism? You have heard it compared to the dissection of a flower, of a living body. But are there any parts of your Bible that are missing? Reclassification is not elimination. Is it any less living than before you classified part with part? On the contrary, the interest is more vital. Is it any less instructive, consoling, "profitable for teaching, for reproof, for instruction which is in righteousness"? If so, it is not the fault of the kind of criticism I have described.

Yes, criticism is analysis. It does imply compari-

son, classification, valuation. But have you ever witnessed the scientist's analysis of a ray of light? Have you seen what happens to the sunbeam when it is passed through the physicist's prism or diffraction grating? He resolves it into its gorgeous rainbow tints. By means of the spectroscope he counts and classifies the dark "absorption bands," the "Fraunhofer lines," which report the obscuration of parts of the ray by the various media through which it has passed. The ray is just as complete as ever, just as bright as ever, after it has told its story to the man of science. For the time being, the scholar's attention is concentrated on the dark lines—defects, as the onlooker might call them, in the beauty of the spectrum. But to the expert, they convey marvelous revelations of heavenly mysteries, the secrets of the sunbeam's experience. Biblical criticism is like spectroscopic analysis of the ray of light. The book is not harmed by the revelation of its past. Its component elements appear now in their historical relation. Thus distributed, they take on a new and unsuspected beauty, like the glorious colors of the spectrum. But beyond this beauty of historical relation, there is a message for those who have skill and patience to interpret it, like the message of the absorption bands. What many look upon as mere defects, variations, incongruities, irregularities of the record, have also a rev-

elation of their own. They tell us something of the story of the ray, the transmission of the words and deeds of Jesus across the dark abysses of the centuries past.

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II

THE PETRINE TRADITION. ITS LIMITATIONS

IN the preceding chapter the first effort was to show the true relation between religion and history. Religion apart from the check of history runs to superstition. History divorced from religion lacks its ultimate solution. What do we go to history for if not to explain the meaning of this tangled skein of events? And how can we consider it "explained" unless we interpret it in terms of purpose or design? Without an ordering Providence, the tangled skein remains just what it was before—a tangled skein. No religion, no history; no history, religion gone mad.

Paul regarded the story of Jesus as setting the capstone on a divine work of redemption. The manifestation of the sons of God to which it led up would change the groans of an enslaved creation into an unending song of praise. Christ, as that Son of God, of whom and for whom were all things, was Paul's key to history. The modern Christian has a broader

horizon. His conception of history has the scope of Mr. Wells' rather than Paul's. But he still applies the apostolic key. In the words of Paul's great successor at Ephesus, he holds that "The Son of God is come and hath given us an understanding." History now has a meaning. And its meaning is Christian.

But as the historian Von Ranke said, "History without criticism is not history." Centuries ago men were satisfied with unsifted report. Mere tradition, raw material, whatever had been handed down, was labeled history. But the eighteenth century brought a change. What moderns mean by history cannot be had without research, comparison, in short, criticism or discrimination.

The compilers of our Gospels belonged to the precritical age. For them, tradition and history were virtually the same thing. They took even less pains to sift report than the average ancient historian (and that was extremely little). Even Luke, who comes nearest to historical aims, was not primarily concerned to write history, but to defend the faith and teach religion. The fourth Evangelist goes farthest in lofty disregard of mere matter of fact. As Plato had said in speaking of the use of myth, the object sought by the Hellenistic evangelist is not fact, but truth. If the hearer got at the religious truth, what matter whether the vehicle were fact or fiction? So reasoned the contemporary Synagogue in defining the limits of

pulpit teaching. So reasoned Clement of Alexandria. So reasons our fourth Evangelist. So, to greater or less extent, reason all our Evangelists. Popular teaching in the Synagogue was called *midrash*, "threshing out," and the "*darshan*" or "thresher out" (of moral grain to feed the people) was not to be muzzled. He could use fancy as much as he pleased provided all was done "unto edification." Of course, if it was a scribe or lawyer, giving applications of the Torah to specific cases (*halacha*, that is, "walk," "conduct"), the case was altered. *Halacha* had to be strictly literal. But even Matthew, the "scribe well instructed unto the kingdom of heaven," has next to nothing of *halacha*. Synoptic story is *haggada* (from *nagid* "to tell a tale"). It abounds in *midrash*, of which one of the most characteristic features is the vision and *bath qol*, or "voice from heaven," of which more later. Another feature of *midrash* is the *mashal*, or "parable," stories such as Jesus told, as to which none but the most hopeless literalist would think of asking whether they presented fact or fiction. They presented truth; whether under one form or the other did not matter.

All our Evangelists are teachers of religion rather than history, and all belong to the precritical age. But there are great differences. Pure symbolism and allegory scarcely occur outside the fourth Gospel, where story serves a purpose like that of the thread of

narrative in the Dialogues of Plato. This "spiritual" character of the fourth Gospel, as the Alexandrian Clement describes it, stands more in the way of its use for historico-critical purposes than the lateness of its date. For the student of the development of the Pauline interpretation of the redemptive work of God in Christ, John (as we call it) takes the foremost place. But as a source-book of mere external fact, it can hardly be used at all. It has a very slender thread of independent, non-Petrine tradition, extremely difficult to disentangle and appraise. For the most part it "spiritualizes" the same tradition already given in the earlier sources; that is, it finds in it a new and deeper religious sense supporting the great Pauline doctrines of incarnation and life in the Spirit. Where "John" diverges, we have almost no means of determining what the nature of the material is, whence derived, or how adapted. When you go to the fourth Gospel, look for truth rather than fact.

But the historical critic wants fact. Therefore he prefers Luke to Matthew, and prefers Mark to both; for the source is always better than the derived product. For the same reason the critic prefers, where he can be sure of its witness, the Second Source, which is certainly prior to Luke or Matthew, and is probably prior to all three.

If our present task were to get back to the "spiritual" Christ of Paul, that is, the eternal redemptive

Spirit of God incarnate in Jesus, then our proper course would be to go directly to the "spiritual" Gospel of the Ephesian Evangelist, "John the theologian," as he came to be called. We should find him using the Platonic privilege of conventional dialogue to bring out the religious values of unsifted tradition. This he had a perfect right to do, and none would dream of objecting to his doing it if they did not approach the writing with the unwarranted assumption that the author was an eye-witness of the events, who should therefore be bound to tell us the matters of fact that we are eager to know. Let us take care that we do not thus make void the word of God that we may keep our own tradition. Unfortunately for our demand, the Ephesian Evangelist had his own purpose to subserve and chose his own means for meeting it. He does not try to give history in our sense of the word, and probably could not if he did.

But our present task is to get back to the earthly Jesus of Peter. Therefore we must first sift the varied forms of the old Petrine tradition for its most reliable data. Then after determining, as far as the most searching criticism allows, precisely what actually occurred, we may follow the example of the theologians Paul and "John" in finding its significance from the divine point of view. This, I believe, is precisely what the great Apostle to the Gentiles would have us do, who wrote:

What, then, is Apollos? and what is Paul?—Ministers through whom ye believed. . . . For all things are yours, whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death. All things are yours. And ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's.

II

Petrine tradition is unfortunately (at least unfortunately for the indolent) in a very uncritical state. The ancient Church deplored its lack of "order." The term is a very wide one. Modern analysis differentiates the record into strata of very unequal value from the purely historical point of view. Even Mark itself, our oldest Gospel, is not a mere transcript from Peter's dictation. The earliest fathers acknowledged that Peter himself had no direct part in its composition. They were certainly right in regarding it as a post-apostolic compilation of Petrine *anecdote*, memorabilia, ἀπομνημονεύματα. Modern critics go farther still. They question the closeness of *Mark's* relation to the work. They are convinced that it rests on documents, mostly translations from Aramaic, one of these identical with that employed by Matthew and Luke after translation into Greek, and perhaps expansion. But what is meant by "according to" Mark? Does it mean "as Mark wrote it," or "as Mark used to tell it"?

We need not here repeat what has already been said

of the two pillars of Petrine tradition, Mark and the Second Source. It is more important that we devote some attention at this point to what is still sometimes called the "single-tradition" element, that is, material peculiar to some one of the three synoptists. As already suggested, some parts of this "single-tradition" material show connection by intrinsic affinity with the Second Source. When, in addition, we can account for the omission of these parts by Matthew or Luke respectively, the connection with Q may be allowed —with reservations. More of the "single-tradition" material stands apart. It shows no affinity with known material. The question whence it was derived by the particular Evangelist who uses it must be left unsolved.

This latter type of single-tradition material of unknown derivation is well illustrated by the two widely different accounts of Jesus' birth and infancy prefixed by Matthew and Luke respectively to their transcription of Mark. Each provides Joseph with a Davidic pedigree, but the pedigrees are not the same. Almost the only point of coincidence between the two infancy stories is the miraculous birth at Bethlehem, where, according to Matthew, Jesus' parents were living, but, according to Luke, had been compelled to go from their home in Nazareth to be enrolled in the census. No evidence of acquaintance with either form of the story appears in any other New Testa-

ment writing. Even the fourth Gospel offers no correction of the ordinary assumption that Jesus was a native of Nazareth, the son of Joseph and Mary. In one point only does the Mattheo-Lukan supplement to Mark receive corroboration. Paul tells us that Jesus was regarded as "of the seed of David according to the flesh." Even in Mark he is hailed as "Son of David." The two inconsistent pedigrees are framed to meet this belief. For the belief itself must go back to the primitive story of Peter. Apart from the Davidic descent, the infancy chapters suggest to the historical critic in search of matter of fact only the extraordinary inability of the primitive Church to meet our desire. Even Luke, whose scenes really have Palestinian "atmosphere," has nothing to tell of all Jesus' thirty years of boyhood and early manhood save the sweet and simple story how Jesus, like any other son of godly parents in his time, was (as we should say) "confirmed." He became a "son of the law" at the usual age, evoking the surprise of the rabbis who examined him by his discerning answers. Why the stories of Jesus' birth were later circulated is not hard to understand, nor have we any quarrel with those who find a way to accept one or both as historical. Suppose the problem of harmonization solved. Suppose, if you will, that Jesus was not born at Nazareth, but miraculously at Bethlehem, according to one form or another of the single tradition.

Use your own judgment as to that. All that need be noted here is that the birth story formed no part of the primitive witness of Peter. Peter's witness began at Capernaum.

This becomes very evident from the Book of Acts, which gives several brief surveys of the gospel story, presenting them as the witness of Peter, and always making "the baptism of John" the starting-point. When a witness must be chosen to take the place of Judas, the stipulation is made that he must have had personal knowledge of the career of Jesus "beginning from the baptism of John." When Peter tells the story to Cornelius, again it concerns that "which was published throughout all Judea, after the baptism which John preached." If Peter's witness had really contained elements from the earlier time, we should get something, somewhere, from the thirty years of silence. The story begins with the baptism of John because it was from that time that Peter knew it, or at least that he thought it worth while to relate it.

To see why Matthew and Luke prefix their infancy chapters to the primitive Petrine tradition, we have only to compare Paul's contrast of the two current types of Christology in Rom. 1: 4. Jesus was, indeed, he says, of the seed of David, so far as mere fleshly descent was concerned. But according to the spirit, he was miraculously designated as Son of God

by the resurrection. This is the doctrine of Paul's "spiritual Christ." It is also set forth in the Roman Gospel, Mark, which makes the blind Jewish multitude, with Bartimæus at their head, acclaim Jesus as Son of David, expecting restoration of the "kingdom of their father David," but completes the story of Jesus' appeal to the nation at Jerusalem by a public refutation of the "scribes' " notion that the Christ must be a son of David. For this purpose, appeal is made to the Psalm:

> Jehovah said unto my Lord,
> Sit at my right hand
> Till I make thine enemies thy footstool.

This is the favorite proof text with Paul and the primitive Church for the ascension. By a pardonable anachronism, Mark uses it to show how Jesus in his debate with the scribes in the temple proved in what higher sense the Messiahship which he claimed must be understood. Mark has no use for the pedigrees, nor for the Jewish-Christian Son-of-David ideal. This dislike belongs to his Paulinism and his Roman point of view. But his followers, Matthew and Luke, are more tender to the old doctrine of Jesus' Davidic descent and his mission to restore what his brother James calls at the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15 : 16 f.) "the ruined tabernacle of David." Hence the insertion of the pedigrees. At the same time, Matthew

and Luke would not, of course, be understood as surrendering the higher claim of Jesus to be "the Son of God." Hence they combine both claims.

Another motive may also have played a part in the development. Heretics like Cerinthus early interpreted Mark's story of the baptism in the "adoptionist" sense, that Jesus came to the baptism of John an ordinary man, son of Joseph and Mary, and that he then became the receptacle (receptaculum) of the Holy Spirit. From that time forth, they pointed out, "he began to do miracles and to reveal the unknown Father." Matthew and Luke, in different ways, cut the ground from under any adoptionist interpretation of Mark by carrying back Jesus' divine Sonship to his birth. That holy thing which came of Mary was the Son of God from his mother's womb, a direct effect of "the power of the Highest."

Paul and John, who with Mark completely discard the idea of Davidic sonship, simply maintain that the Spirit in Jesus was the eternal redeeming Spirit of the divine Wisdom. This is an incarnation doctrine pure and simple. Matthew and Luke are just as destitute of any notion of preëxistence or incarnation as Paul and John are of a virgin birth. It is not, therefore, for the sake of the incarnation doctrine (which they do not teach) that Luke and Matthew make their prefix to Mark, but for the sake of holding on to their tradition of Davidic birth, which Mark had treated so

cavalierly, without relinquishing the claim that Jesus was also the Son of God. They also wanted, perhaps, to cut the ground from under the Adoptionists, who were making capital of Mark's prologue. For here Mark seemed to teach that Jesus became the Son of God when the Spirit descended upon him at his baptism. According to Matthew and Luke, he had always been such.

Have patience with this brief digression. In attempting to get back to the primitive witness of Peter, we are not strictly called upon to explain the origin of later developments. But just at present, there are so many that imagine that the virgin-birth story (or stories) is in some way a foundation of, or indispensable to, the doctrine of Jesus' divine Sonship, or the incarnation in him of the divine Spirit of redemptive Wisdom, that it is worth while to pause for a moment to inquire why and how these additions to Peter's witness came to be prefixed. Whether one, or both, additions are historical has nothing to do with the case. Men will make up their minds as to that according to their particular theories as to the nature of inspiration and historical criticism. Perhaps the later Evangelists were so guarded from error as to admit to their pages only what was historically the fact. Perhaps they used such tradition as they could find to embody the religious truth, and rested on hearsay. The question of fact is beyond the reach of the

historian whether to prove or disprove. The exegete, however, has both a right and a duty to say as to this added material that it does *not* teach the incarnation doctrine, and never was meant to. It merely aims to vindicate two conceptions of the divine Sonship of Jesus, both current, both correct, at least on the religious side. There was the belief long persisted in by Christians of Jewish birth that he was "of the seed of David." It was doubtless just as trustworthy in Jesus' case as in that of his earlier contemporary Hillel, of whom the same was reported, and whose youthful circumstances were even lowlier than those of Jesus. There was also the doctrine that he was "the Son of God." Matthew and Luke oppose the false and superstitious sense that had been put upon this doctrine in consequence of Mark's opening representation. It came to be called Adoptionism. Think as you please, or as you can, about the virgin birth, but if we use these infancy chapters at all, let us use them for what they really teach, especially when the religious lesson they aim to convey is in the line of sober truth and historical fact, and aims to counteract a type of superstition.

Before we leave this example of later development from the primitive witness of Peter, let me draw one further lesson. We have just seen that the infancy chapters are due to the interaction of two cross-currents in early teaching, what Paul contrasts as the

conceptions on the one hand of "a Christ after the flesh," a Messiah who is primarily the Son of David, and, on the other, a "Christ after the spirit," exalted as Son of God to God's right hand. These two conceptions have always interacted, and they must continue to do so. If we neglect the simple outward story of the Son of David as he really was in his work for the redemption of his own country, Jesus the Jewish patriot, we shall fall into the error of the docetic Gnostics, who vaporized away all the historic foundation of concrete fact from the gospel story, leaving nothing but their own theosophic imaginings. God's redemptive work through the agency of Christ will then become a mere speculative fancy picture of our own. If, on the other hand, we fail to follow Paul's example in penetrating to the inner meaning of events, seeing in them an eternal redemptive purpose of God for the world, then our historical reconstructions of the Petrine story may be never so accurate, but who cares? The whole subject has lost its value. It is only a pathetic story of a figure in Jewish history who suffered martyrdom in the attempt to restore the national ideal.

It is equally fatal to neglect the tradition of Peter or the religion of Paul. In a dim, instinctive way the Church has realized this from the beginning, and has shaped its course accordingly. Some of the Palestinian churches continued to maintain down to Justin's

day, midway of the second century, a pure Son-of-David Christology, rejecting Paul and all his teachings, rejecting the virgin birth, insisting on a mere reformed Judaism as the Christian ideal. Ebionism, as this type of teaching came to be called, had this taproot of truth. It did represent what Christhood meant *before* there was a cross and resurrection; and as most of the story with which we are now concerned belongs to that Galilean period, we shall do well to remember that the starting-point was this Son-of-David ideal. The Son-of-God Christology, which Paul sets in contrast with the nationalistic, is the offspring of the cross and resurrection; and even so, not quite directly. In between comes the experience of Peter, which we shall find reason to think centers on the great Isaian conception of the Servant of Jehovah made a willing sacrifice for the achievement of God's purpose. Jesus the Servant precedes Jesus the Son. It is these later conceptions of Peter and Paul, reactions from and interpretations of Calvary, which made the gospel a thing of interest for the Greek-speaking world. It is this larger, outside world, not interested in the restoration of the kingdom of David, but very much interested in peace with God and a renewal of humanity, for which our Greek Gospels were written, beginning with the Roman Gospel of Mark. Be prepared, therefore, to find side by side in Mark the

same two strands as in the birth stories: (1) primitive anecdotes about the Prophet of Nazareth, who, after the Baptist was delivered up, carried John's message of the coming kingdom throughout Galilee and Judea, preaching it as glad tidings to the repentant, doing good, healing all that were held down under the yoke (καταδυναστευομένους) of the devil, for God was with him; (2) interpretations of the redemptive significance of his martyr fate, when he perished in the attempt to rally Israel under the banner of a kingdom of obedience to the Father in heaven. For thereafter he was manifested from heaven, a glorified Christ, to those who had been his followers.

Such is the primitive witness of Peter, a combination of anecdotes and interpretations, experiences and religious lessons, flesh and spirit. Of these two elements every Gospel is made up, since otherwise it would not be a "gospel," but either a mere theological speculation or a mere soulless record. Such is the nature of our earliest Gospel, the Markan miscellanies from the preaching of Peter, just as it is also of the latest, the "spiritual" Gospel of John the Theologian. There is only a degree of difference in the proportion and intermingling of the two factors. But now, since we are in search of the historical basis of fact, let us turn again to the primitive Petrine tradition.

III

It is natural that the story should begin with Peter's own call to discipleship, especially as there is little evidence that Peter had ever heard of Jesus before this call, and none whatever that he had ever heard of him before the baptism of John. But this does not alone account for the silence of the ancient tradition about earlier events, because if those who told the story had felt that the personal character and previous history of Jesus were of vital moment, they would have instituted inquiries then or later. Our Gospel of Mark has only a prologue in which, under the form of a vision, Jesus' call to his ministry is related; and no pretense is made that Peter, or any other of the Twelve, had any personal knowledge about it. The so-called First Epistle of Peter, a pretty late writing strongly permeated with Pauline doctrine, but in which there appears to be some real reflection of Peter's teaching, has the same conception as the Markan prologue of a divine election and foreordination of Jesus to be the Christ. This is not a doctrine of preëxistence. According to I Pt. 1: 20, Jesus was "foreknown before the foundation of the world," but, for the sake of believers, "manifested at the end of the times by God, who raised him from the dead and gave him glory." Our faith and hope, therefore, should be "in God." Farther on, the writer of the

Epistle, in speaking of the example set in Christ's undeserved sufferings, declares that he "did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth," which might lead us to think that Peter (if Peter were the real author) had made some inquiry at Nazareth about Jesus' earlier life and learned of its singular purity. But no. The words are simply part of the quotation from Is. 53: 9, which is continued in the verses following, just as Paul also, in alluding to the same passage in II Cor. 5: 31, makes the same inference. All we can say is, men who knew the character of Jesus, addressing others who had at least some opportunity of knowing it, could not possibly have used such a comparison if their knowledge of Jesus' life and character did not correspond. All they did know about him showed an unreserved, unbroken devotion to his Father's will. If any one thinks more is to be gained by instituting inquiries at this late date on the question of sinlessness, he must take his labor for his pains. The first witnesses took no interest in any such inquiry. They simply knew they had seen a man who lived just as he prayed: Father, thy name be sanctified, thy kingdom come.

Luke alone, as we saw, tries to lift a corner of the veil in the one touching little anecdote of what Jesus said when as a boy of twelve, he was taken up to Jerusalem for confirmation. It shows just the same spirit as in later life. Separated from his parents,

the boy was finally discovered listening to the discussions of the rabbis in the temple court, where they gave public teaching. In answer to his parents' exclamation of surprise the boy said: "Where would you expect to find me? I was interested in things which concern my Father in heaven." If you mean by the sinlessness of Jesus that he had from childhood that kind of a spirit, then the little anecdote has some bearing on the question. If you only mean the mere negative idea of faultlessness, that even in boyhood he never disobeyed his mother or was late to school, or got into scrapes with other boys in Nazareth, the early witnesses were not interested in such questions. If we have their conception of Jesus' holiness, we shall not be, either.

You know what grotesque absurdities the medieval gospels of the infancy make of their attempt to fill up this epoch of silence, and how they contrast with the simplicity of Luke. At least Luke has what modern writers call "atmosphere." He shows us the *kind* of life lived in a devout family of the Galilean peasantry, the *chasidim*, or "men of loving-kindness," as they came to be called in Maccabean times, the "saints," as we translate the word, in whom the Psalmist of the same late period says he takes all his delight. The scribes in Jerusalem, and perhaps their followers the Pharisees also, held in contempt the slender knowledge of the law of these simple

Galileans, because it scarcely went beyond what Micah thought to be the requirement of Jehovah: "To do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God." But some of the examples Luke relates of these simple people, that were "waiting for the kingdom of God" without too much regard for the scrupulosity of the Pharisees in their blind obedience to the scribes, give us an inkling why Jesus' following was so largely of this class. They were his own sort of folk.

Peter certainly knew Jesus' mother and brethren, though our Gospel of Mark has nothing to report concerning them save their lack of sympathy with Jesus' work. Peter undoubtedly knew that the family claimed Davidic ancestry, though the only sign even of this in the Gospel of Mark is the fact that the title "Son of David" is addressed to Jesus from the crowd. As we have seen, Davidic descent implied nothing of wealth or power, or even of social prestige. One might be, like Hillel, too poor to pay the nominal fee for attendance at the lecture-hall of the rabbis, and still be regarded as a descendant of David. Mark's obvious hostility to everything relating to the Jewish type of early Christian belief may carry him beyond the point where Peter himself would have taken his stand; but clearly, personal and family matters were no part of Peter's witness as Mark understood it. Joseph is not even mentioned. The mother

and brethren of Jesus appear only as a foil to those who became Jesus' kindred according to the spirit by hearing and doing the will of God.

Thus the real reason for the surprising silence of Mark as regards everything antecedent to the reform movement of John is not mere ignorance. The reason why Peter's witness, as reflected in the reminiscences, begins with the vocation of Jesus at John's baptism is the fact that the Gospel aims only to give the story of Jesus *as* "the Christ" (Mk. 1: 1). Some manuscripts omit the words "the Son of God" which others append here, but that is certainly the sense in which our Evangelist uses the title "the Christ," having little patience with the old Jewish sense. But whether the title Christ were used or not in the older sense, "He that should come" for the consolation of Israel, or "to redeem Israel," or "to restore the kingdom of David," Peter and the rest, taught by Jesus, had come to take it in a sense "according to the things of God," that is, according to a purpose not humanly foreseen. Accordingly, the story of Jesus *as* "the Christ" was not cumbered with personal and private affairs. For this reason, there is no approach anywhere to any description of Jesus' personal appearance, or any individual peculiarities such as distinguish every human being. Even such very guarded references to his "looking around with anger" at the plotters against

his life, and similar gestures occasionally reported in Mark, are eliminated by the later Evangelists. Nothing is told of any word or action out of mere historical or personal interest in the man. That is what makes the writing a Gospel and not a history. It was a purely religious writing. Nothing whatever went into it that had not first been taken into the pulpit. And earnest preachers do not take into the pulpit anything that is not mainly directed to the saving of human souls. This limitation may be unfortunate for the historical critic, anxious to paint a true portrait of Jesus as he was on all sides of his life. But that is the kind of record the Church has transmitted, for the simple reason that that was all it had.

Let us understand, then, what is implied in this limitation of our principal source. The exclusion of all the thirty years before Jesus came into Galilee after John was delivered up, carrying the message of the imprisoned prophet, "Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand," is only part of a more general exclusion due to the same cause. The Evangelist, like Peter before him, is not attempting to gratify mere curiosity, or even the commendable desire for historical information. He is telling the story of Jesus *as* the Christ of God, and he has neither space nor interest for anything else. His groups of anecdotes are put together with the sole purpose of helping the reader

see how God through the agency of Christ was accomplishing his purpose of world redemption. What else should one expect of an Evangelist who for the last twenty years of his life had been a fellow-worker and lieutenant of Paul?

In the primitive Church the nature of Mark's compilation was well understood. The elders of Jerusalem acknowledged that it had no systematic order. It was not a "source-book" (*Syntagma*) of the precepts, like that known to Papias as well as to us under the name of "Matthew." It was more nearly a "narrative," a *Diegesis,* like those referred to by Luke, reporting events in chronological sequence. But it fell short of the historical sequence expected of first-hand report. It was a miscellany of the sayings and doings, collected under the title of *Apomnemoneumata* or "Recollections" from the preaching of Peter. It displayed no more of order than had Peter's preaching, which had merely related sayings and doings of the Lord as the needs of the hearers required. Modern investigation bears out this primitive judgment of the character of Mark's work, transferred in turn to later Gospels whose outline is based upon it. The Gospels, says one clear-sighted critic, do not give us a connected story of the ministry, much less a biography, of Jesus. They give a collection of anecdotes, "a necklace of pearls of which the string has been broken."

IV

Another limitation of the sources, or at least of our oldest source, must be understood before we take up its contents with the design of reconstructing history. There is another element of "single-tradition" material besides the prefixed chapters of Matthew and Luke which the later Evangelists do not derive from Mark, and which cannot be connected with the witness of Peter, because Peter was not present at the reported scenes, and because Paul himself shows clearly that the witness of Peter where it does come in was quite different. It is the most vital and essential element of all in Peter's testimony, his witness to the resurrection. Strangely enough, the Gospel of Mark has nothing to tell of that experience to which Paul refers in the words, "he appeared first to Peter." No Evangelist relates it, though Luke has some allusions to it. What our Gospels have to tell about the resurrection appearances must therefore be subtracted from the primitive witness of Peter. But in this case the reason for the limitation is almost the opposite of that which operated in the case of the chapters on the infancy.

As we saw, the reason why the silence of the early years is broken only by discordant traditions of the later time is that the ancient Petrine witness had nothing to say about Jesus' private life and home

affairs. Look at the end! The Gospel of Mark in the authentic text ends at 16: 8 even more abruptly than it began, so abruptly, in fact, that it is quite apparent that the original close is missing. For this reason the manuscripts either leave a blank space, or attach one or both of two editorially manufactured conclusions known as the longer and the shorter endings. We nowhere find the original story to which the Evangelist twice looks forward; once, in Jesus' assurance to the Twelve at the farewell supper, "After I am raised up I will go before you into Galilee," and again in the promise made by the angel to the women at the sepulcher, "He goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him as he told you." The nearest approach to a record of this Galilean appearance to Peter and the Eleven is in the fragment recently discovered of the *Gospel according to Peter*, a second-century product. This Peter fragment itself breaks off abruptly at the point where Peter and a group including "Levi son of Alphæus" have taken their nets and gone back to their fishing at the end of the days of Unleavened Bread, "mourning and weeping at that which had come to pass." Apparently it went on to tell a story similar to what we read in the appendix to the Gospel of John. It doubtless gave the appearance to Peter and the Eleven much as it originally stood at the end of our Gospel of Mark.

But that original ending has disappeared, and so has the close of the Peter fragment.

The disappearance of the ending of Mark was at an extremely early time, so early that neither Matthew nor Luke show any knowledge of it. They diverge just as sharply at the point where the authentic text breaks off (Mk. 16: 8) as they do in the infancy chapters. Matthew winds up with an ending of the same general editorial type as the so-called shorter ending, saying in general terms that Jesus met the Eleven, as he had appointed, on a mountain in Galilee and commissioned them for their work, promising his continued presence. They were to teach all men obedience to his commandments and to baptize into the name of the holy Trinity. Luke contradicts this flatly. The Eleven were forbidden to leave Jerusalem. Jesus appeared to two of the company on the road to Emmaus and turned them back. When they arrived they found the Eleven gathered together rejoicing at an appearance to Peter (which Luke has nowhere told). Jesus now appears and gives the Eleven here in Jerusalem another commission quite different in character from the Matthean. Thereafter he leads them out to Bethany and is taken up into heaven. Luke has a great deal more to tell than Matthew, but he has strangely omitted the most important feature of all, the original appearance to Peter. What he does tell

is directly opposed to the Galilean tradition of Matthew and Mark.

The divergence shows that neither Matthew nor Luke had anything more of the original Mark than just what we have. Matthew finishes out with what might be inferred on general principles; Luke supplies certain traditions derived from Jerusalem sources. What value they had remains to be seen. The original ending of Mark is lost forever, except in so far as we may be able to reconstruct its general nature from the fragments which remain, the promise of Jesus and of the angel at the sepulcher, and a few stories which appear to have been derived in ancient times from this original, such as the appendix to John and the fragmentary ending of the *Gospel according to Peter.* The fragments imply that the women, through fear, failed to deliver their message. The disciples accordingly returned to Galilee. Peter, accompanied by a group of them, resumed his old occupation, but was recalled from it by an appearance of Jesus and a summons corresponding to his original calling, perhaps accompanied by the miraculous draft of fishes, which John 21:6 places here, but which Lk. 5:4–8 connects with the first call.

Why was this original ending of Mark permitted to disappear? That is one of the oldest problems of gospel criticism. The answer usually given is,

"I give it up"—if you call that an answer. I mean, critics appeal to the category of accident, which is only another way of saying that you have no explanation. But although "I give it up" is certainly the easiest answer, it is not satisfactory. Besides, accident will not account for the phenomena. What if the Evangelist was suddenly stricken with death or paralysis when he reached Mk. 16: 8? In that case his work would either not have been published at all, or the man who published it would have supplied some sort of ending corresponding to the implications of the context and what was known of Peter's story. Or suppose that quite a number of copies were made which included the original ending, but that all disappeared save one manuscript which had lost its last leaf by accident. Still you will have to explain why none survived complete, and why, if no complete copy survived, the substance of so well known a story as the manifestation to Peter could not have been supplied from memory. Peculiarly difficult will it be to account for the omission if, as seems highly probable, the original ending was actually known as late as the times of the *Gospel according to Peter*, and the substance of the story as late as the appendix to John.

No, the appeal to accident is simply a counsel of despair. The real reason why the original ending of Mark did not survive was because the Church found

it too difficult to maintain. Just how difficult it was, you will appreciate if you attempt one or both of the following tasks: (1) Try to reconcile the Galilean tradition of the resurrection appearance as implied in the fragments that remain of the Markan story (whether as reconstructed by Matthew, or in any way you please, so long as it retains its Galilean situation) with the Jerusalem tradition of Luke. (2) Try to carry through the attempts that Matthew makes to meet the objections advanced to Markan tradition by the Synagogue, and at the same time make the story agree (as Matthew has not even attempted to do) with the distinct statement of Paul that the appearance to Peter was individual, and followed later by an appearance to the "Twelve." Such an appearance to Peter, *followed* by a rallying of Peter's "brethren" is implied in a casual reference in Lk. 22: 32, which also implies a version quite different from Mark's of the appearance to Peter. That, however, is not at all what Matthew relates.

Just try these two problems. You will not find either of them easy. But one thing I think you will learn in the process. By far the easiest course for primitive apologists who knew the Jerusalem tradition of Luke was to drop the original ending of Mark, substituting a manufactured article like Matthew's or those of the so-called longer and shorter endings, or even leaving a blank space like our oldest manuscript.

This was much easier than to maintain it in the face of Luke's point-blank contradiction.

The real trouble is that even Mark, in this closing story, is not giving us the authentic and primitive witness of Peter. The Evangelist is attempting to *combine* Peter's experience, after he had fled to Galilee, with a story of the women at the sepulcher in Jerusalem, which seemed to him to reënforce it. In reality, it has nothing to do with it, since it is not even claimed that the women told their story until long afterward.

The addition may or may not have historical value. That is not our present concern; only that it forms no part of the witness of Peter. For you will notice that Paul in giving the original and apostolic common witness of the resurrection pays no attention to it whatever. Paul's narrative is brief, but it gives the exact course of events after Peter's flight to Galilee. Jesus was manifested to him in an experience Paul explicitly likens in Gal. 2: 8 to his own. Afterward "he appeared to the Twelve." It is a providential circumstance that Paul's narrative does connect precisely at this point with the primitive witness of Peter; for this is exactly the weak point of Mark, the point where synoptic testimony falls apart in hopeless divergence.

It is not, then, for lack of material that our Gospel of Mark broke off in the strange and abrupt manner of its close. Peter certainly did not fail to tell the

most important event of his life, the very culmination of all his testimony. He told it and retold it. Where nothing else was known of Peter's witness, this was related again and again, wherever they celebrated the feast of the resurrection. There could not be a gospel at all without this, and for that very reason we find traces of it recurrent in a host of different forms. Now it is the Lukan bit concerning Jesus' prayer of intercession for Simon, that after the collapse of his faith he might be "turned again and establish his brethren." Now it is the story of how the Church was founded on this rock, victorious over the powers of the underworld. Now it is an allegorizing attachment to the story of Jesus triumphing over the powers of storm and darkness. Peter seeks to share his victory, as at the Supper he had offered to go with Jesus to prison and death. But when he saw the violence of the storm Peter's faith weakened. Then Jesus, victorious, stretched out his hand saying: "O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?" and together they came to the storm-tossed disciples, who now cried out "Verily thou art the Son of God." All these are variants of the one supreme theme of all Christian story, how through the manifestation to Peter, Jesus was "miraculously designated as Son of God by the resurrection from the dead." The reason for its disappearance from the pages of Mark is not that this portion of Peter's witness was not known,

but that it was known in so many divergent forms that primitive evangelists found no little difficulty in choosing which to admit and which to reject.

The original ending of Mark has disappeared because of the violence of contention, as the hinder part of Paul's ship was broken up by the violence of the waves. Fortunately for us, Paul himself comes to the rescue at just this critical point. We can be absolutely sure of the manifestation to Peter as the foundation-stone of all gospel testimony. Paul delivered first of all that which he also received, verifying it by consultation with Peter himself. The pre-Pauline gospel told first how Jesus had suffered for our sins according to the Scriptures. Its doctrine was that he had been buried and raised again the third day, as the Scriptures say of the sheaf of new corn lifted to God on the third day after Passover, the "first-fruits of the harvest." In proof of this glad tidings, they told how he was "manifested to Cephas, afterwards to the Twelve."

We need not be troubled by the mere fact that other traditions have so clustered about this original witness of Peter as to obscure it altogether were it not for Paul's record. Mark has thought to strengthen the case, especially as regards the corporeal reality of Jesus' reappearance, by adding a relatively late story of how women who went to weep at the sepulcher found it empty and were granted a vision of angels.

On what foundation this story rests we do not know. Paul seems never to have heard of it. It does not pretend to be derived from Peter, whose revelation of the Lord came to him independently. It cannot have come into circulation before the women broke silence. That seems to have been in Jerusalem, where the tomb became very early a sacred shrine, and where there were traditions of the women of the company.

Other forms of the primitive witness of Peter, symbolical, allegorizing, elaborating for religious application, have grown with Oriental luxuriance about the historic facts of the collapse of faith of the fisherman apostle, his turning again by the intervention of the Lord from heaven, and his establishing his brethren. The very exuberance of these symbol stories has crowded out the original, leaving us as historians the task of reconstructing from broken fragments the true course of events. But the facts themselves are historically unshakable. Peter was thus turned again by the power of the risen Christ. He did restore his brethren and thus become the rock-foundation of the Church. Given these facts, the tracing out in detail of the various ramifications of the story is indeed of utmost interest, instructive, full of rich lessons of religious history, psychology, what you will. Only not the one supremely vital thing, the thing that while knowable as an external fact from the testimony of others, must be verified by personal participation to

be religiously fruitful in our own lives. It is something inward, personal, individual, independent of place or time, which Paul speaks of as knowing the "power" of Christ's resurrection, that divine power which raised up Christ Jesus from the dead and shall raise up together with him all those who have known the fellowship of his consecration. This is something beyond the domain of the mere historian. That is one of the spiritual things that must be spiritually discerned.

III

MARK'S HISTORICAL OUTLINE

WE have seen that history without criticism is impossible, because uncritical report is not history. If we could go back to the period when this distinction was not made, there would be no need to spend time and effort in attempts to sift and compare and classify our gospel material, distinguishing poetry from prose, parable from report, spiritualizing application from historical narrative, pulpit illustration, or *midrash*, from authentic, first-hand testimony. There are good people who can still live in the prehistoric age as regards gospel story, just as there are people who can enjoy the sunshine without spectrum analysis. But the same God of truth who gave us sunlight that can be analyzed, and who expects us to use our keenest study and appliances to learn its wonderful message, gave us a Bible full of duplicate narratives that can be analyzed into documents of various types and ages.

He has also given us four Gospels, not a single, un-

analyzable story of the beginnings of our faith. He therefore expects us to make the most of this providentially instructive character of the records. Any Christian who does not believe in historico-critical methods, or disapproves the application of them to the Bible, or lacks time or training to follow up documentary analysis, can keep the old story just as it was. He can keep his King James version and learn the truth of God from it without having to learn Greek and Hebrew. Only he should apply no ill terms to the men who go beyond him and learn the Greek and Hebrew. So the simple, uncritical "word of the cross" is a saving word whether you sift and analyze the records or not. Only you cannot call it "history" in the modern sense of the word until it has undergone the processes which the modern historian applies to all ancient records before he consents to talk about "history." Physical theories which antedated the discovery of the spectroscope are still in existence in certain quarters, and so far as I know, there may be people who reject the results of spectroscopic analysis and still hold that the only elements really known are the earth, water, air, and fire of Heraclitus. Only they do not attempt to claim for their doctrine of four elements the same respect which is accorded in our time to the researches of Thompson, Rutherford, and Sir Oliver Lodge. They admit that it is "prescientific." So there are Christians who hold the theory

(it has never obtained the standing of a doctrine in any authoritative utterance of the Church, Catholic, Greek, or Protestant) that the Scripture writers were so miraculously preserved from error that we get the results of historical criticism without having to apply the processes. If they obtain from them the Spirit of Jesus, without which no man can be a Christian, well and good. But it is not showing the spirit of Christ if they condemn other Christians whose conception of inspiration is that God supplied a record full of human imperfections just so that we might use our powers to the utmost in getting from it both prescientific and scientific values, and who therefore apply historico-critical methods to the limit, to know more and more of how God has actually wrought out His redemptive plan throughout the ages. Both sides will get on very well together if both are animated by the Spirit of Christ. "But who art thou that judgest thy brother? Or thou, again, why dost thou set at nought thy brother? For we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of God."

Since, then, the record as it comes to us, even in the oldest attainable form, is far from being a simple transcript of Peter's testimony, since it appears to include all that could be gathered after Peter's death from all available sources, some at least in written form, let us apply our critical processes, to determine, as far as we can, the main outline, common to all

forms. Let us get at that essential witness of Peter, under which the lesser anecdotes have been grouped.

II

The Gospel of Mark supplies an outline under two main heads, the Galilean and the Judean ministry. These are easily separable by the incident at Cæsarea Philippi, where Peter confesses Jesus as "the Christ," but meets a stinging rebuke for the merely human, Jewish-nationalistic sense he attaches to the ideal.

It must be admitted that Mark himself is not so clear as might be, not so clear as Matthew, who elaborates his story, with regard to the epoch-making character of this confession of Peter. Mark tells us that Jesus was in exile at this time, that he never returned openly to Galilee, and that from this time Jesus entered upon a new phase of his teaching and work. But although Mark had raised the same question regarding Jesus' personality some time before, in speaking of the reports concerning him which had come to the ears of Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, he digresses to tell about the fate of the Baptist, and never returns to tell what happened in consequence of Herod's awakening to what was going on. Neither does Mark attach such importance to Peter's confession as Matthew does, because to him it is no revelation from heaven such as Matthew calls it, but only

the natural answer to the question which any one of the Twelve would have given, since "the mystery of the kingdom of God" was no secret from them, or from the demons who always shriek it out and have to be silenced. To Mark's view, it is a secret only from those whom he calls "outsiders" (οἱ ἔξω).

Matthew rejects this idea of the witness of the demons and makes the confession of Peter something hitherto unknown to flesh and blood, a revelation from the Father in heaven. On these two points, therefore, we can get a little clearer idea than Mark could give us if his record stood alone: (1) He obscures somewhat the significance of Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi by carrying back too far the idea that Jesus was known as Messiah to his intimates. (2) He also obscures the relation of Herod's threatening attitude to Jesus' departure from Galilee. For the real significance of this we have to turn to a bit preserved by Luke from the older source in Lk. 13: 31–35 (= Mt. 23: 37 ff.). From this it appears that the period of exile from Galilee related by Mark between the miracle of the loaves and the incident at Cæsarea Philippi was not merely due to the collision with the scribes from Jerusalem over clean and unclean meats, nor merely for the sake of the journey to Phenicia and Decapolis which Mark reports thereafter. It was in reality due to the machinations of

the Pharisees, who brought word to Jesus that Herod intended to kill him. Their plot succeeded for the time being. Jesus was forced out of Galilee into exile. His public work was broken off there after the miracle of the loaves, which is thus seen to be a sort of Galilean parallel to the farewell supper in Jerusalem. Jesus bids his Pharisaic friends "Go and tell that fox" his work will in due time be finished in Jerusalem. And so it was.

Mark is vague in the extreme about this period of exile. He tells about the scribes from Jerusalem and how Jesus defied them, "making all meats clean," then how he extended his healing power to the Syrophenician woman, and promised that after the children were fed, the time of grace would come for Gentiles also. Then he tells a few more anecdotes, largely duplicates of healings and miracles already told, which he locates in Phenicia and Decapolis, that is, Gentile territory, and so brings us at last to Cæsarea Philippi. The object is, of course, to show how the Church's missions to the Gentiles, which had first to overcome the barrier of the Mosaic distinctions of clean and unclean meats, were justified by the example of Jesus. As already pointed out, Mark's Gospel is not a book of history, but of religion. The Evangelist is writing primarily for teachers of religion. Historians must wait for the crumbs after

the children are fed. But they may question the accuracy of Mark's report, for the other Evangelists do so.

Luke, who in his "second treatise" has a much fuller account of how the gospel actually was carried to the Gentiles, after great searchings of heart over this question of clean and unclean meats, cuts out this entire section of Mark. He is probably correct from the purely historical point of view; for Paul himself admits that Jesus was "a minister of the circumcision," "under the law," subject to the limitations and the "reproach" of Judaism, explaining that this was necessary "because of the promises made to the fathers." Our western, Roman Evangelist is again outrunning the situation.

Matthew also observes this, though his method of correction is different from Luke's. Matthew includes the material, but slightly changes it, to make it appear that Jesus did not go into Gentile territory at all, or transgress the commandment with which Matthew reports him as sending out the Twelve: "Go not into any way of the Gentiles, nor enter into any city of the Samaritans, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." According to Matthew, the Canaanite woman "came out of those parts" to Jesus, a humble, believing suppliant, like the believing centurion of the Second Source. To Jesus' receiving her thus, of course, there could be no objection, even from

the standpoint of the strictest Jewish Christian. The gospel is sent to all the world by commission of Jesus to the Twelve after his death. Matthew and Luke are therefore justified, as against Mark, in such changes as they make here to show that Jesus did not destroy the Law and the Prophets, but only showed their higher application. Jesus limited his mission, as Paul admits, to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel." He remained a loyal son of the Law.

These two corrections of the Markan outline make some difference with our conception of the Galilean ministry. They explain why Jesus no more returns openly to Galilee after the miracle of the loaves, and why there is a complete change at Cæsarea Philippi in the nature of his ministry and teaching. For now he begins to warn the Twelve of impending martyrdom at Jerusalem, and to make personal loyalty to himself and his cause, even to death, the central requirement. We can now see more reason for those elements of the Second Source which Mark has passed over, wherein messengers from John raise the question whether Jesus is "he that should come." We can understand why after their departure Jesus begins to pronounce woes upon the cities of Galilee which had not repented at his preaching, and upon the evil and adulterous generation which sought a sign, blindly disregarding the two great signs that God had given them in the repentance of John, a "greater matter"

than the turning of the Ninevites at the preaching of Jonah, and Jesus' glad tidings to the poor, "a greater matter" than the wisdom of Solomon, which had drawn the Queen of Sheba from the ends of the earth. These denunciations can only come appropriately at the close of the Galilean ministry. Jesus cannot say appropriately, "Woe unto thee, Bethsaida, Chorazin, Capernaum, for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, or even Sodom and Gomorrah, which were done in you, they would long ago have repented in dust and ashes" until his ministry of mighty works among them is over and it is certain that his message is rejected by them, save for the remnant of "Wisdom's children." Capernaum had been exalted to heaven, because it had been first to receive the message. It will be cast down to Sheol, because it was foremost in rejecting it; but its sister towns—all that we know of as scenes of Jesus' Galilean activity, and one (Chorazin) of which we hear nothing elsewhere—are all included in the condemnation. Such utterances could not possibly be located in the earlier period of Jesus' Galilean ministry while it was still uncertain whether his message would be received or not, nor can we imagine Jesus resuming his public ministry in Galilee after it was certain that further preaching must be only a preaching of judgment. This section of Q, therefore, ran parallel to the section of Mark which tells how reports came to

Herod. It formed the conclusion of the Galilean ministry and led over to some new phase.

When we turn to the account given in the Second Source of how the question of Jesus' Messiahship was raised by the Baptist, it is clear that Herod's threatening attitude was not the only cause for Jesus' leaving Galilee, still less the collision with the scribes over the Mosaic distinctions of clean and unclean. His work there as a whole had been a disappointment. The cities of Galilee had rejected his message, as they had previously turned a deaf ear to John. Mark tells us how the report of his mighty works reached the ears of Herod, and allows us to see that the Pharisees and Herod (or, as Mark has it, "the Pharisees and Herodians") had laid a successful plot to drive out this troublesome successor to the Judean prophet. He has nothing whatever to tell about how the same report came to the ears of John. In fact, he seems to imply that John had already been beheaded at this time. The surviving Q fragments, however, enable us to see that messianistic agitation had begun to make it dangerous as well as useless for Jesus to continue. According to Matthew, the exorcism of the dumb devil, which led the scribes from Jerusalem to declare, "He casteth out by Beelzebub," had previously started the whisper among the multitudes, "Can this be the son of David?" There is, therefore, some ground for the statement of the fourth Evangelist that

some were ready at this time "to take him by force and make him king."

We can see now in somewhat clearer light the momentous significance of the scene at Cæsarea Philippi. Jesus' withdrawal from Galilee to Gentile soil had not been (as Mark seems to take it) for the sake of justifying disregard of the Mosaic distinctions and carrying the gospel to the Gentiles. On the other hand, Matthew goes too far in wishing to make Peter's confession an immediate revelation from heaven. The question of Messiahship had already been raised. Jesus' reply to the Baptist, deprecating the raising of this issue and urging, rather, appreciation of the fact that the Isaian promise of deliverance of the captives, opening of the prison-house to the bound, raising up of the perished nation, healing, forgiveness, glad tidings of reconciliation to a penitent people was being fulfilled before their eyes, had not sufficed to assuage the dangerous agitation. The leaven of the Pharisees and Herod was not the only danger, nor the denunciation of the scribes from Jerusalem. There were some who were beginning to raise the cry: "The son of David!" On every account it was clear that the Galilean ministry had come to an end. If Jesus was not to abandon his mission to Israel, it must henceforth take on a new form.

III

The great division of the career of Jesus into a Galilean and a Judean ministry runs through all the Gospels, including the fourth, though here it is greatly complicated by a new scheme of division. John arranges his series of public discourses, or dialogues of Jesus with the Jews, according to a series of five religious feasts. The public ministry begins with a Passover at Jerusalem at which the sign is the superseding of the temple by the body of Jesus, which through the resurrection establishes a new center of worship for the world. A dialogue with Nicodemus shows how the teaching of the Law must give way to that of spiritual birth in baptism and justification by faith. Another, with a Samaritan, exhibits Jesus as the Savior of the World, who affords access to all true worshipers, without distinction of race, through one Spirit to the Father. Thus the religion of temple and law is superseded by the religion of the Spirit. Next, Jesus appears at Jerusalem at Pentecost, the feast of the Giving of the Law. The sign is the healing of the paralytic, which in the corresponding section of Mark becomes the starting-point of that opposition which culminates in the collision with the Pharisees over Jesus' claim as Son of Man to have authority over the Sabbath and to absolve from sin.

The dialogue in John pursues the same theme on larger lines. Jesus appeals to the witness of his works, but more especially to that of the Spirit, which had borne witness to him through Moses. This inner witness of God is a greater witness than John's, or even that of the Law. The next feast is that of another Passover, this time in Galilee. The sign is the gift of bread from heaven in the miracle of the loaves, made the text for a great discourse in the synagogue at Capernaum.

As in the other Gospels, a second division begins in John also at this point, and Jesus "walks no more in Galilee." His next appearance is at the Feast of Tabernacles, with the sign of the opening of the eyes of the blind, and a corresponding discourse. Next he gives the great sign of the raising of Lazarus at the Feast of Dedication, which commemorated the resurrection of the martyrs for the national faith. This doctrine is presented (after Jesus' great teaching on the resurrection) by Caiaphas, the chief priest. Jesus is the one who should die for the nation, and not for the nation only, but that he might also gather together into one the children of God that are scattered abroad. After these five feasts, with their signs and discourses, the public ministry, as reported in the fourth Gospel, is brought to a formal end. The closing section telling of the farewell Supper, the cross and resurrection, reports no public acts or

discourses. It is concerned wholly with the inner circle of Jesus' "own."

This Johannine method of presenting the public teaching of Jesus under the form of signs and discourses at the great feasts of Judaism, only one of which has its scene in Galilee, is manifestly intended for instructional purposes, like the narrative framework of the Dialogues of Plato. We should misunderstand the object of the fourth Evangelist if we supposed he was intending to correct the older historical outline. It is the religious significance of the story which he aims to bring out. Jesus did not really begin his public work at the national center, Jerusalem, as John and later apologists would have it, but in obscure Gennesaret. According to Matthew, it was a fulfilment of prophecy that the people that sat in darkness should see a great light, the borders of Zebulun and Naphtali, Galilee of the Gentiles. The plain historical reason why Capernaum became the first center of his work is that Jesus began among his own people. He took such plain men as he could inspire with his own ideals among his fellow-Galileans, and went after the lost sheep of his own people where he could best reach them. It is interesting to observe Matthew's ingenious appeal to the prophecy of Isaiah as a prediction that the least favored part of Palestine should be first to hear the gospel, and equally interesting to observe John's dis-

placement of the culminating stroke of Jesus' career, by which with the support of his Galilean following he seized and held control of the national citadel for a few days, taking it out of the hands of the chief priests and elders, to make it "a house of prayer for all the nations." It makes an even better scene for the opening of the public ministry, from John's point of view, than the scene in the synagogue at Nazareth from Luke's. But we must realize that neither Matthew nor John, nor even Luke, is aiming to teach history so much as religion, and that the method of the fourth Evangelist particularly is almost disdainful of mere annals. We are surely right in falling back on the simple story of Mark concerning the opening Sabbath in Capernaum as giving in substance Peter's witness of how the ministry began.

True, there never was much of a church in Galilee, and there never was much to tell about any of the original disciples except Peter. But that is not because Jesus made an unwise choice of field and helpers. It is because he was brave enough, or, if we prefer to put it so, had enough faith in God, to begin his work in his own home region, with such aid as he could get. After he was glorified, the Eleven picked out a successor to Judas of their own sort, Matthias, whose record in history stops at precisely that point. God, through the agency of the risen Christ, chose the

persecuting Pharisee Saul. The story of Paul reads somewhat differently.

IV

Jesus' career begins, then, with the Sabbath in Capernaum when he took up the unfinished work of the Baptist, proclaiming throughout the towns and villages of Galilee the message: Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand. We have seen how this earlier work was brought to an end, and a new phase of the ministry inaugurated in exile at Cæsarea Philippi. That gives us a broad outline of events, though it does not, unfortunately, enable us to supply for every recorded utterance and event that "order" which so early disappeared from the memory of the Church. Before I return to that simple scene of the calling of the fishermen by the lakeside, so typical of what we might expect the witness of Peter to supply, let me delay a moment longer with the middle section of the outline and structure of Mark. For however miscellaneous its contents, this primitive Gospel is not lacking in a certain practical order of its own.

We have seen that this middle section, from Mk. 6: 45–8: 26, which we have designated the exile section, is omitted by Luke. Moreover, objection may be raised to it not only from Paul and Matthew, but

from its own contents, which are largely duplicate. It stands, therefore, somewhat apart from the rest. It intervenes between the original raising of the question of Jesus' personal calling through reports which have come to the ears of Herod, and the later resumption of this same theme at Cæsarea Philippi, and seems to subserve in Mark's mind the motive of justifying the extension of the gospel to the Gentiles. The section here omitted by Luke covers no less than seventy-five verses of Mark. It will simplify our study of the remainder of the Gospel if we devote the present chapter to a closer examination of it. We may not gain much additional information concerning this obscure period in Jesus' career, but it will be of real service if we can get a clearer understanding of the method of our earliest Evangelist with his material.

V

Luke's great omission was the chief support of a modern theory of Gospel origins which I hope is now disappearing, the doctrine that the tradition reported by Papias had reference not to our Mark, but to some earlier composition, a so-called Ur-Markus, or Proto-Mark, which has since disappeared. Its only other support was the alleged failure of Mark, as we know it, to agree with the criticism of the elder, that its

contents were "not in order." In reality, when we understand what the elder meant by "order," judging by the attempts of Matthew and Luke to improve upon Mark in this respect, it does agree exactly. What of the remaining support of the Proto-Mark theory? Why does Luke omit the section? Of course, if you mean by the term Proto-Mark some earlier form of the Gospel than the form known to us, nobody will deny the theory. On the contrary, there is abundant evidence that the material has passed through several stages of stratification. But if you mean that Matthew or Luke or Papias refer to any other Mark than our Mark, the theory is virtually groundless. Papias certainly had our own Mark, neither more nor less. Matthew and Luke had the same, with the possible exception of a clause or two. They did not even have the lost ending. And the doctrine that Luke's Mark did not contain the exile section can be effectually disproved.

It is already a serious objection to this theory that Matthew, writing not far from Luke's time, obviously knew the section. A more fatal one is that Luke himself, though he discards the section for the reason already explained, here and there drops remarks which show his familiarity with it. Thus he omits the section where Mark tells of the disciples entering the boat to go to Bethsaida "on the other side of the lake"; nevertheless, Luke keeps the name "Bethsaida"

as the next rendezvous of Jesus with the disciples. Again, the Proto-Mark theory has no explanation of the breaking off of the narrative at the particular point where Jesus is about to enter the boat with the disciples, after the miracle of the loaves. All other versions of the story, including the duplicate in the exile section, have here the crossing of the lake by boat. There are reasons enough why, if Luke is simply canceling, he should begin his cancellation here, partly perhaps because he notices the duplication and the fact that in the second version there is no walking on the sea, partly, perhaps, because this particular story tended to give color to the Docetic teaching that Jesus' body was only phantasmal, a heresy which Luke abhors. If Luke is simply canceling, this is the point where we should expect him to begin to cut. But if the omission is due to the absence of the exile section from his Proto-Mark, why did not Proto-Mark have the rest of the story of Jesus' farewell to Galilee as it appears in no less than five other versions?

Fourth and finally, there is no difference between this part of Mark and any other part as regards language, style, and point of view. The special peculiarities of this Evangelist, his somewhat unusual and colloquial style and vocabulary, his idea of "hardening" extending from the Jews even to the Twelve, his avoidance of the crowd when Jesus heals, his graphic descriptions, his method of developing the meaning

and application of sayings under the literary form of private conferences with the Twelve—all these peculiarities of Mark are, if anything, somewhat more pronounced in the exile section than elsewhere in the Gospel. Of course, the contrary would be true if this section were a later addition. It is really Markan to the bone.

But, says the objector, a large part of the material here employed duplicates other parts of Mark. Either it was added later from some parallel source, or Luke, if he did find it in his form of Mark, recognized the duplication, and therefore omitted it.

I am willing to grant as a secondary motive with Luke that he did recognize the duplicate nature of certain parts of this section, and in addition that he does omit certain sections of Mark without apparent reason other than their resemblance to other parts, as the cursing of the barren fig-tree in Mk. 11: 12 ff., which parallels the parable of the barren fig-tree in Lk. 13: 6–9, or the story of the penitent harlot in Lk. 7: 36–50 which might easily be mistaken for a duplicate of the anointing in Bethany in Mk. 14: 3–9, though it is really a different incident. The duplications in the exile section may have contributed to Luke's omission of it. I will admit also that Luke's attitude toward material which might seem to disparage the Old Testament may partly account for the omission of the section on making all meats clean, in

Mk. 7: 1–23. He omits likewise the section condemning the Old Testament law of divorce (Mk. 10: 1–12, with which, nevertheless, Luke betrays his acquaintance in 16: 18). But I will not admit that explanations which might serve for one or more individual passages can explain the omission bodily of the entire section of seventy-five consecutive verses. That is something quite unexampled elsewhere. Its only explanation, in my judgment, is that the exile section *as a whole* presents a teaching which Luke is able to give in much fuller and much more correct and historical form in his second treatise. Mark was not a different Gospel when Luke used it from what it is now or what Matthew used. Only Luke had other materials than ours, other materials than Matthew's, perhaps, or at least materials of which Matthew has made other use, which showed that this part of Mark should not be used for his historical outline.

VI

I will venture to add here my personal conviction that in this historical and geographical correction of Mark, Luke is substantially right. After the miracle of the loaves, somewhere near the plain of Gennesaret on the western shore of the lake, whither Jesus' adherents, who come forth from the towns and villages

and overtake the boat, could really reach him, he did withdraw to the other side, out of the jurisdiction of Antipas, landing near Bethsaida. The next incident that Luke gives is the confession of Peter, which we know from Mark (Luke cancels the objectionable implication that Jesus had gone to a "city of the Gentiles") really took place in Cæsarea Philippi, at the other end of the kingdom of Philip, a day's journey on foot north of Bethsaida. Then, some time before Passover (according to the fourth Gospel, at Tabernacles in October), Jesus "set his face" to go up to Jerusalem, stopping in Galilee only long enough for a secret rendezvous with his disciples. Luke omits the story of the Syrophenician, which really belongs to this period and region (Tel-el-Kadi, the ancient Dan, a former "city of the Sidonians," is only two miles west of Cæsarea Philippi); he also makes Bethsaida the scene of the miracle of the loaves, instead of the terminus of the boat journey. Otherwise, Luke is substantially correct in his great cancellation, including his omission of the story of the walking on the sea. For though Luke follows Mark's first miracle of the loaves at the point where he comes to it, he stops with a parallel to the words of Mk. 6: 42: "And they did all eat and were filled, and twelve baskets full of fragments that were left them were taken up," and passes directly to the scene of Cæsarea Philippi. This conforms rather to Mark's

second miracle of the loaves, where the subsequent boat journey is without incident. Perhaps Luke regarded the walking on the sea as a symbolic elaboration of the story he had already transcribed from Mk. 4: 35–41 of the stilling of the storm.

If, then, Luke, our historian Evangelist, has here exercised a certain amount of historical criticism, to what extent can we follow his example? Probably not much beyond the point where he has himself supplied the better account. But at least we shall have reached one clear result, not from Luke alone, but from ancient tradition, and from the treatment accorded to Mark by other Evangelists. We shall henceforth recognize the predominance of the religious, pragmatic motive in Mark's arrangement of his material. In short, we can now take up this exile section as a group of anecdotes, understanding better both how, and why, and out of what it has been put together by Mark.

The digression starts from Herod's threat, where the question of Jesus' mission is raised, and ends with the resumption of the same theme at Cæsarea Philippi. Mark has used this real occasion of Jesus' retirement before political hostility to elaborate a kind of anticipation of the apostolic missions to the Gentiles. The nucleus of the group is the story of the Syrophenician woman, "a Gentile" (ἑλληνίς), as Mark is careful to explain. Jesus himself, the narrator allows, had felt

scruples against "giving the children's bread to dogs," an expression whose harshness marks the degree of Jewish-christian opposition to be overcome. All the greater is the triumph of faith. When Jesus' reluctance is overcome, his consent is given in a form which makes it a prediction that in due time the Gentiles will have their opportunity. The slight changes made by Matthew obliterate this distinction of "first" and "afterward," and place the woman in the same class as the believing centurion. The "Canaanite woman" becomes a counterpart of Rahab the Canaanitess and Ruth the Moabitess, proselytes whom Matthew specifically cites in his genealogy.

Matthew's form of the story is probably more authentic; but it obliterates Mark's motive. The preface to this Markan justification of preaching to the Gentiles is, as already observed, the making all meats clean, whose motive needs no further explanation. Its sequel is an extraordinary journey "from Tyre through Sidon to the Sea of Galilee up the midst of the borders of Decapolis," all Gentile territory, though once reckoned to belong to the kingdom of David. The geographical terms are found in Matthew also, but a few slight changes completely alter the sense. According to Matthew, Jesus merely retired to "the borders of Tyre and Sidon," which need not mean more than "northern Galilee." Matthew reports that when Jesus had withdrawn to the ill-

defined northern frontier, the Canaanite woman "came out from those borders," so that Jesus does not actually enter Gentile territory. The Gentile woman's faith simply parallels that of the Gentile centurion. From the "borders of Tyre and Sidon" Jesus returned, according to Matthew, "to the Sea of Galilee." Thus the whole journey recorded by Mark in Gentile territory is quietly eliminated! By a defter touch, Matthew has rid his story as completely as Luke of the obnoxious representation that Jesus had gone into "a way of the Gentiles."

As we have seen, the two later synoptists (and I may add the fourth Gospel) are really correct. The expression "coasts of Tyre and Sidon," which Mark doubtless found in his source, does not really imply a journey through Phenicia. Rather the declaration of Jesus that *if* Tyre and Sidon had enjoyed the opportunities of the Galilean cities, they would have repented, which we find in the Second Source, implies that they did not have it. Nor has Mark anything to tell about this unparalleled journey. He has a slightly different version of the miracle of the loaves, which now takes place a second time on the Gentile side of the lake, and a second controversy (this time with Pharisees demanding a sign), also on the Gentile side of the lake. In the Second Source this forms part of the same controversy which Mark had related as occurring in the region of Gennesaret (6: 53 ff.).

He encloses this group between two healings which seem to be mere elaborations of the two which appear in the Second Source in this same connection (the controversy with the scribes from Jerusalem) as the casting out of a dumb devil, and the opening of the eyes of a blind man. The first he locates vaguely on the Gentile side of the Sea of Galilee (7: 31 ff.); the second he locates at "Bethsaida," the place toward which the course had been set when this digression began, and which lies on the direct road from Gennesaret to Cæsarea Philippi. But it is clear from the story itself that this location is not correct; for Bethsaida was what Mark distinguishes from hamlets (ἄγροι), villages (κώμαι), and towns (κωμοπόλεις) as a "city" (πόλις). The story relates that the blind man was brought to a "village" (κώμη) where Jesus was staying. To avoid importunities, Jesus takes him by the hand, leads him out of the village, and, after healing him, forbids him even to reënter the village on his way home. The situation implied is like that of the Gennesaret villages described in 6: 55, where we are told that the people recognized Jesus as he came out of the boat and began to carry about on their beds those that were sick, wherever they heard he was staying. I even venture to think that this story of the healing of the blind man originally stood at precisely this point, because in the Q parallels it forms part of the introduction to the controversy with the scribes from

Jerusalem, along with the exorcism of the dumb devil. Mark brings in the controversy with the scribes here (7: 1–23), but has turned the two healings to account a little further on, substituting a new link (6: 56) not quite so well adapted to the context. For in it Jesus moves about from place to place to heal, while the people remain in their own towns.

Beginning, then, with this landing at the plain of Gennesaret (which we must remember is not the place to which the disciples' course was directed when they set out after the miracle of the loaves), let us look at the group of anecdotes which Mark has formed; first, the controversy with the scribes in which Jesus abolishes the distinction between clean and unclean meats; next, the extension of his gracious power to the Gentile woman; next, the Decapolis ministry prefaced by the opening of the deaf ears. Its nucleus is a second miracle of the loaves, followed by another controversy with the Pharisees when Jesus had crossed over in the boat to their side of the lake, and an explanation to the Twelve, as they make the return journey, of the significance of the saying, "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees." The opening of blind eyes in Bethsaida forms the conclusion. What is the purpose with which this group has been put together, and whence has our Evangelist derived his material?

Ancient tradition told us that the anecdotes of Mark were grouped for didactic purposes, and so all modern

inquiry discovers. We can learn something further as to the thread of connection by comparing the Old Testament passages whose thought and phraseology have been borrowed by the Evangelist for his purposes. We can learn something as to the derivation of his materials by comparing the Second Source, which gives the greater part of them in different setting. First, then, has Mark in mind any particular Old Testament model which we can identify? Quite certainly he has, and the passage would be easily identified even without the fact, which we learn from other sources, that it was just this passage which the Nazarean Christians of North Syria in the fourth century were still in the habit of using to justify their rejection of the teaching of the scribes, by adopting the broader, more generous teaching of the gospel.

In his opening section, the controversy with the scribes, Mark lays down this passage from Is. 29: 13 as his proof-text:

> This people honoreth me with their lips,
> But their heart is far from me.
> In vain do they offer me their worship,
> For the teachings they inculcate are commandments of men.

The rest of the anecdote relates how Jesus proved to the scribes that Jewish religion as they were teaching it, with distinctions of clean and unclean meats, washings and sprinklings and the like, was mere exter-

nalism, "hypocrisy," a "commandment of men." Mark contends that by the great saying on inward purity Jesus wiped out all these distinctions.

But now how does the passage in Isaiah proceed? Isaiah has been denouncing the religious leaders of Israel in his time, declaring that Jehovah's message is to them a sealed book.

> Jehovah hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep,
> And hath closed your eyes the prophets,
> And your heads, the seers, hath he covered.

It is because this failure of the religious leaders has made Jewish religion a mere "commandment of men" that Isaiah says Jehovah Himself will intervene with a marvelous work to make His name to be sanctified among the poor and meek, and even the erring and rebellious peoples will be brought to understanding. The prophet continues in these words:

> Therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvelous work among this people,
> Even a marvelous work and a wonder;
> And the wisdom of their wise men shall perish,
> And the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid.

This is the "marvelous work":

> In that day shall the deaf hear the words of the book,
> And the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity and out of darkness.
> The meek also shall increase their joy in Jehovah,

And the poor among men shall rejoice in the Holy One of Israel.

It should not be difficult now, it seems to me, to understand why our Evangelist incloses his story of the Gentile ministry, following immediately after the story which tells how the grace of the Lord Jesus was extended to the Syrophenician woman, between the two "marvelous works" of the unstopping of deaf ears and the opening of blind eyes. Both miracle stories are elaborated at unusual length, with stress upon the symbolism, as when the particular Aramaic word *Effatha* is given, by which Jesus bade the dumb man's ears "Be opened." Similarly, the blind man comes gradually out of his "obscurity and darkness." Even the language is Isaian, for the term μογιλάλος, "tongue-tied," is that by which the Greek version of Is. 35: 6 renders the prediction: "Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as a hart, and the tongue of the 'dumb' shall sing." The term is employed here by Mark, though it appears nowhere else in the entire field of New Testament literature.[1]

It would seem undeniable that Mark's motive for

[1] The term ἄλαλος, which takes its place in verse 37, is almost equally unexampled. This is the term which Symmachus and Theodotion employ to render the term "dumb" in Is. 56: 10. Mark repeats it twice in the story of the exorcism of the "dumb and deaf spirit" in 9: 14 ff.

bracketing his story of a Gentile ministry between these two marvelous works, whereby the ears of the deaf are unstopped and the eyes of the blind are opened, is derived from the Isaian promise. Proofs could be multiplied from the language, but we must hasten to the other element of the problem: Whence does he derive his material? Here, too, we need not be wholly at a loss, for the parallels have at just this point, in the context of the conflict with the scribes, two similar healings. In Mt. 12: 22 f., it is the healing of "one possessed with a demon, blind and dumb" which first evokes the amazement of the multitude, and thereafter the opposition of the Jerusalem scribes. In Lk. 11: 14 the dumb man is made to speak, the multitudes marvel, the accusation "He casteth out by Beelzebub" follows; but there is no mention of the opening of blind eyes except as the people are warned in verses 33–36 against spiritual blindness. However, it is just after, in 12: 1, that Luke gives the saying "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees"; so that Mark's introduction of this saying, in his second account of the conflict (8: 11–13), here finds its explanation. In other words, it is Second Source material which Mark is here using to fill up the outline of his Gentile ministry. He is not wasting duplicates, but is finding a place where they will point the moral of his tale. To sum up: Mark has divided the conflict with scribes and Pharisees,

which the Second Source gave as (1) an Accusation He Casteth out by Beelzebub, (2) a Complaint He Disregards the Ablutions, (3) a Demand (from Pharisees?) for a Sign (Mt. 12: 22 ff. = Lk. 11: 16 ff.), into three parts. The first he uses in 3: 22–30 as a foil to the opposition of Jesus' mother and brethren. The second he uses in 7: 1–23 to justify disregard of distinctions of meats. The third he uses in 8: 11–13 to show the blindness of "this generation."

Further proof could be adduced from Matthew's transcription of this section of Mark that he knows not only the Markan form, but another, in which the Isaian undertone is independently reflected. Thus his parallel to Mark's description of Jesus' return to the sea on the Decapolis side supplements Mark by a generalizing account of promiscuous healings, ending as follows: "And the multitude were amazed when they saw the dumb speaking, the maimed whole, the lame walking, and the blind seeing; and they *glorified the God of Israel.*" It might be imagined that this is merely a free-hand description, an editorial generalization to supplement Mark. But the phrase "they glorified the God of Israel" shows its true derivation. It does not come from Mark, who has nothing to correspond. It does introduce, however, a reference to the Isaian opening of the deaf ears and blind eyes through the work of Jehovah, as well as the

predicted marveling of the people; and, what is more, it uses the very phrase of the Isaian prediction that the "poor among men" should "rejoice in the Holy One of Israel," and that when Israel's children should see the work of His hands in the midst of them, they would "sanctify the Holy One of Jacob," and even the erring and rebellious would "stand in awe of the God of Israel." It is impossible to explain why Matthew should use here the expression "the God of Israel" instead of a simple "they glorified God," except as he is influenced by the Isaian passage. And, as we have seen, the influence does not come to him through Mark.

All these philological niceties have to be studied out, concordance, lexicon, and grammar in hand. It is impossible to do them justice except by study too microscopic for our present purpose. But I hope I have made clear at least one outstanding result: the great Markan digression relating a journey of Jesus throughout Phenicia, followed by a Decapolis ministry repeating the miracle of the loaves and other connected incidents, has a religious rather than a historical motive. Probably very little could be learned about this period of exile, when Jesus was driven out through the machinations of the Pharisees and Herod into "the borders of Tyre and Sidon." We have every reason to believe that Mark gives correctly "Bethsaida" as the point for which the disciples

took their departure in the boat after the miracle of the loaves. That was the native town of Andrew and Philip, and it was out of Herod's jurisdiction. We hear of Jesus next at Cæsarea Philippi, a day's journey north of Bethsaida, at the other extremity of Philip's kingdom. From this point, Jesus set his face toward Jerusalem, stopping in Galilee only for a secret gathering of his followers. In the main, Mark has given us a true historical outline of Jesus' ministry. The Evangelists Matthew and Luke were justified in making it fundamental to their own compositions. But the later Evangelists were also justified in their correction of Mark's outline. Those who report the ancient tradition of the origin and nature of Mark were right. It is not a biographical narrative, but a collection of anecdotes, grouped for pragmatic purposes; and it includes some duplicate material, particularly excerpts from the Second Source. In its great appendix to the Galilean ministry the Evangelist has developed around the single incident of the Syrophenician woman (an authentic occurrence of the period of exile from Galilee) a whole Gentile ministry, which Luke and Matthew rightly reject, the former by drastic elimination, the latter by subtle alterations in the material. We ourselves are now in search of the true historical outline of events. That does not mean that we disparage or undervalue Mark's duplicate material, nor his groupings for doctrinal

or apologetic purposes. We value both. But we think more is to be learned from the anecdotes if we use the methods of critical analysis and comparison of parallels to place each element by itself. Our effort in this chapter has been directed to lifting carefully off a stratum of material appended to the Galilean ministry which seems to be almost entirely built up by Mark for pragmatic purposes. In subsequent chapters we must take up the two main divisions between which this material has been interjected, the Galilean and the Judean ministry, and see if we cannot come a little closer to the primitive witness of Peter.

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IV

PROSE AND POETRY IN THE SOURCES

IN the preceding chapters I tried to show how in the main the structure of Mark is historical. Not that our Evangelist personally was much concerned about historical accuracy; nor were the preachers of sayings and doings of Jesus from whom he derived his data. Only, having planned a comprehensive record, Mark partially adapts the groups of current anecdotes to a general outline of the ministry. This outline we can reasonably accept as derived from Peter, in corroboration of the ancient tradition, because it really has a beginning, middle, and ending, such as could scarcely have come from any other witness.

I

The narrative proper begins in each half of Mark's Gospel with a story wherein Peter, next to Jesus himself, is the central figure. It ends with the night of betrayal, wherein Peter's part is equally prominent. Capernaum is the geographical starting-point. This

little Galilean town, exalted to heaven because the work of divine redemption begins there, but otherwise obscure, is Peter's home. Jesus becomes Peter's guest in a house occupied by the host himself, his brother and fishing partner Andrew, his wife, and his wife's mother. It seems to be shared, too, by James and John, sons of Zebedee, also partners of Simon in the fishing business. The four have parents who belong to the same group. These men are therefore of youthful or middle life. Jesus finds them washing and mending their nets on the strip of sandy beach which you can still see from across the lake, a little west of the ruins of the town. The new-comer invites the four to join with him in a work of religious patriotism, and they promptly accept his invitation. Young men are idealists. This simple story of the beginnings at Capernaum seems to me to bear the indelible marks of Peter's own witness.

Mark does not account for the sudden impulse of the fishermen to leave all and follow an apparent stranger. Perhaps the story seemed more impressive if the summons of Jesus were depicted in colors which recall the sudden sweeping of Elisha from the plow in the train of Elijah. Perhaps Jesus was not, after all, a complete stranger. The pairs of brothers may have known him at the baptism of John, as our fourth Evangelist suggests. Anyway, it is safe to assume that there was more to the conversation than the half-

dozen words reported by Mark, and that it had to do with the interruption of the Baptist's work. For our Evangelists all fix the date of this beginning by the imprisonment of the reformer. They also describe in terms coincident with the preaching of John, the content of the ministry now begun. Moreover, they report the substance of the invitation in these terms: "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men." These are the outstanding facts, and they tell the story.

In this fifteenth year of Tiberius, humbled Israel seemed to have been remembered again of God in the sending of a great prophet. The Baptist's summons of the people to repentance in view of the coming day of Jehovah had thrilled every devout heart. It promised a restoration of the national ideal, the kingdom of God. It was principally the "unchurched" element, the publicans and sinners, that responded to John's call, but in submitting to baptism, a rite devised for admission from the impure heathen world into the circle of the covenant people, they symbolized their pledge to become a people prepared by repentance for Jehovah's coming. Like the Pharisees, the Puritans of the time, John's disciples held that it was the unreadiness of a disobedient people that delayed the fulfilment of the promise. Only, John had something to suggest in the line of repentance which much more closely resembled the message of

the old prophets than the Pharisean ideal of obedience to the precepts of the Scribes based on the written Torah. The Pharisees rather stood aloof. They "needed no repentance." But the baptism of John was a message "from heaven" to the publicans and sinners. John set the example of gathering a people prepared for Jehovah's coming and instituted an initiatory rite which went beyond circumcision because it required personal dedication to a new life. But John did not enter Galilee.

His following, that hoped-for nucleus of a new and worthier Israel, were scattered, when John was imprisoned, as sheep not having a shepherd. What Jesus proposes to the fishermen, who may or may not have known him before at John's baptism, is to gather this scattered, leaderless flock of the "repentant," to hold up the banner anew, uniting the devotion of all the loyal to the old ideal in a new and worthier form. John had been sent by Jehovah to prepare a people ready for His coming. Jesus refused to allow a petty tyrant's act to frustrate the work of God. He has taken his baptism in earnest, a man whose life is like his prayer, a dedication to one sole aim, that Jehovah's name shall be sanctified, His kingdom come.

What Jesus offers to the four fishermen is a chance to be partners with him in this work, the "gathering"

of the scattered flock of God. The ideal shines through the homely word: "I will make you fishers of men." It also is reflected once and again in later sayings: "He that gathereth not with me, scattereth," "I was sent to the lost sheep." It was one of the great supplications of "the" prayer of the Synagogue and it is reflected in the earliest ritual of the Christian eucharist: "Gather together thine elect from the four corners of the earth."

The next day was a Sabbath. Jesus, supported by his four followers, went to the local synagogue and proclaimed his message. A demented man, excited by its new tone of authority, startled the gathering by a loud outcry. Mark explicitly lays down the theory that the demons, whensoever they beheld Jesus, recognized him as the Son of God, just as the possessed girl in Philippi recognized Paul and Silas as "servants of the Most High God." He takes the outcry to have been a declaration by the man's "control" of Jesus' divine nature and mission. As Matthew uniformly strikes out from his transcript of Mark every one of these generalizations, and as neither Paul nor John ever mentions exorcisms, we need not feel obliged to adopt Mark's point of view, though if we want to appreciate precisely the effect which the incident had on the people of Capernaum, we cannot possibly do better than to adopt exactly his language. Jesus

"rebuked the demon," it was "silenced" and "came out."

The result was precisely what we should expect. Jesus' fame as an "exorciser" spread immediately. On his return to Peter's house they respectfully entreated him to use his healing power for the benefit of Peter's wife's mother, stricken with malarial fever. The disease is frightfully prevalent on that low, mosquito-infested shore, and was naturally regarded as due to an "evil spirit," because one day the patient seems virtually well, the next is inexplicably seized with sudden chills and fever. These presently disappear, but the third attack is often fatal. Luke tells us that Jesus "rebuked" the fever, showing how it was regarded even by a physician, if the writer *was* a physician. Jesus did as any rabbi in his time would have done, as the elders in the Church are expected to do in the Epistle of James. He took the poor woman by the hand and raised her up. Mark says nothing about the prayer of faith healing the sick, but we cannot well imagine that Jesus overlooked it. Straightway the fever left her, and she took part in the household tasks.

It is difficult to imagine a "beginning of miracles" more plain, simple, and straightforward. The very homeliness of the scenes at synagogue service and fisherman's home guarantees its historicity. But one

might easily guess the effect in a little town like Capernaum of two wonders of exorcism in a single Sabbath. Mark tells it with naïve exaggeration. "When the Sabbath was past all the city was gathered together at the door," bringing their sick and demented, who could not be moved, according to the Sabbath law, until after sunset. Of course, there were many cures, as we know almost invariably happens in such circumstances. But there was an extraordinary difference in the effect of these occurrences on Jesus from their effect on his disciples, and that is the most instructive thing about this whole story, as well as the best guarantee of its authenticity. On the morrow, long before daylight (it is only from Mark that we get all the facts, and even Mark does not seem to appreciate their full significance), Jesus slipped away to a quiet place outside the city. When they found him he was wrestling out his problem in prayer. They begged him to return and meet the splendid opening created by his work as a healer, but he refused. His mission, he said, was to deliver his message. So they left Capernaum and went "into the next towns" with their proclamation, "Repent, for the kingdom is at hand."

That is Mark's account of "the beginning of the gospel." In Peter's summary of it to Cornelius, the word which had ultimately been published thoughout

all Judea began "from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached." Compare this account with later developments and you will see why I speak of it, contrary to some recent criticism,[1] as a simple, substantially authentic reproduction of the actual witness of Peter. It is the plain prose of a simple eye-witness.

Luke tells "the beginning of the gospel" with greater art. He brings into the foreground the incident of rejection in Nazareth, which illustrated the saying, "No prophet hath honor among his own people," combining it with a theme from the Second Source which illustrated the prophecy from Isaiah about the mission of Jehovah's Servant:

> The Spirit of the Lord Jehovah is upon me,
> For he hath anointed me to proclaim glad tidings to the poor.

Luke's description brings Jesus directly from the scene of his anointing with the Spirit at Jordan to Nazareth where he had been brought up. Here on the Sabbath he enters the synagogue and declares this prophecy fulfilled in himself. Then follows Mark's anecdote of rejection in Nazareth. It is clearly displaced, for Luke's own story makes the people of Nazareth demand "the miracles which we have heard

[1] According to R. Bultmann, *Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition*, 1921, no words need be wasted to prove this and other didactic narratives mere idealizations without historical foundation.

of your doing in Capernaum." These, however, only follow afterward in Luke's story. Still, from a literary and apologetic point of view, the rejection of the Anointed Servant by his fellow-countrymen, in order that like Elijah and Elisha, whose examples he quotes, he may go to the Gentiles, forms so admirable an introduction to Luke's account of how "this salvation of God was given to the Gentiles" after the Jews had put it from them, judging themselves unworthy of eternal life, that we cannot wonder the third Evangelist should make it subserve this purpose.

Matthew in like manner adapts to his purpose Mark's story of the beginnings. After the briefest possible summary of Mark, he adds his citation from Isaiah to justify Jesus' beginning in darkest Galilee, and then proceeds at once to the scene of the new Lawgiver proclaiming from the mount a higher commandment than that of Moses.

Look finally at the fourth and latest of the Gospels. "John the theologian" wishes to set forth Jesus as the incarnate Logos of God. His "beginning of miracles," accordingly, is the wonder at Cana of Galilee, whereby Jesus "manifested his glory and his disciples believed on him." They had already learned from the Baptist that this was "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." From Jesus' own assurances they had learned that this was "he of whom Moses and the prophets did speak," "the

Christ, the King of Israel," and by his omniscience they had been convinced that he was the Son of Man through whom the interchange between earth and heaven is to take place, as in Jacob's dream. The miraculous changing of the water of "the Jews' purifications" into wine for the guests of the wedding feast is to the disciples the final proof that the dawn of the new dispensation has come. Such is John's "beginning of miracles." It does not trouble the theologian Evangelist to reflect that if this marvel at Cana had preceded, there would be very little left for the people of Capernaum to wonder at in a few exorcisms and healings. For John is not attempting to teach history, but religion. When we are engaged in the attempt to trace the development of doctrine and the significance of the Logos idea for the churches of Asia at the close of the first century, it will be of the utmost value for us to study out the teachings here exhibited. But when our inquiry is for the simple basic facts, it is not really difficult to distinguish in such a series as these four between earlier and later, primitive tradition and religious adaptation. We must go back first to the simple witness of Peter, afterward follow the example of such interpreters as Paul's great successor at Ephesus, in tracing the finger of God in this coming of Jesus to Galilee bringing the new wine of the kingdom.

II

Back of all these prose accounts of the beginning lies one still older, incorporated first by Mark, afterward by all the rest. It does not pretend to rest on the report of any witness, or to be "historical" in the modern sense of the word. It undertakes to tell Jesus' inward experience at the baptism of John before he came into Galilee. Of course, the writer is obliged under such presuppositions to tell his story under the conventional poetic form of vision and voice from heaven. So formerly the great prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah had related their divine calling. But the primitive Church found a closer analogy in the experience related by Ezekiel, who is addressed as Son of Man by the heavenly voice, and who thus describes his call (Ez. 1: 1):

It came to pass in the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, the fifth day of the month (Epiphany, the feast of Jesus' baptism, when he received the heavenly "manifestation"—*ἐπιφανέια*—was dated on the fifth day of the fourth month, that is, Jan. 5), as I was among the exiles by the river Chebar, the heavens were opened and I saw visions of God.

Mark has drawn the prefatory section of his Gospel, descriptive of Jesus' divine call and anointing with the Spirit, from the Second Source. Jesus was known to have been profoundly affected by John and to have submitted to his baptism of repentance. This

was a stumbling-block which later apologists, from Matthew to the Gospel of the Nazarenes, try to remove by various explanations. But the primitive Second Source is far from any attempt to minimize the indebtedness of Jesus to a predecessor whom he called "greater than all the prophets." It depicts the inward spiritual impulse by which Jesus was "anointed of the Spirit" in words like those of Ezekiel, who saw the heavens opened and beheld visions of God. But it uses the poetic imagery of Jewish *midrash.* What Jesus saw, according to this primitive source, is typical of all Christian baptism. For baptism is a rite of adoption by the Spirit of God, which, as Paul says, "testifies with our Spirit that we are born of God." Knowing the source and nature of Jesus' devotion, knowing in what spirit he came from the baptism of John, primitive Christians rightly conceived of Jesus' baptism as involving all that was involved in their own, and more. They were endowed at baptism with various "gifts of the Spirit," the "word of knowledge and the word of power." Jesus too experienced this endowment with the Spirit of adoption; only (as an ancient gospel expressed it) the "whole fountain" of the Holy Spirit, and not mere derived rivulets, "descended and dwelt in him." It was indeed from this time on, as Cerinthus pointed out, that "he began to do miracles and to reveal the Unknown Father."

The ancient source went on further to make clear

in what sense Jesus' calling to be "the Son of God" should be understood. For its account of the baptism it uses the imagery of Is. 42: 1–4:

> Behold my Servant whom I have chosen,
> My beloved, on whom I set my good pleasure,
> I will put my Spirit upon him,
> And he shall send forth truth to the Gentiles.

The actual language is quoted a little later. After depiction of Jesus' calling from God, based on this Isaian passage, it appended an explanation of the sense in which his divine Sonship should be understood, basing it on the story of Israel, prepared to be God's "Son" by its sojourn in the wilderness. For so the scripture declared, that God

> proved them, to know what was in their heart, when he suffered them to hunger, and fed them with manna, that they might know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

So, according to the Source, was Jesus "proved" in the wilderness, suffering hunger, tried by Satan with false suggestions of what it implies to be a "Son of God." This Son is not to be fed in the desert with miraculous loaves. He is not to be held up invulnerable on angels' wings, as the Psalmist had sung of those who take refuge under the wings of the Shekinah. He is not to sit upon the throne of David while the kingdoms of this world bring their glory and honor to his feet. The Son whom God has really chosen to carry His

judgments to the Gentiles will tread a path of humble faith and obedience, like the righteous and suffering Servant of Isaiah and of the book of the Wisdom of Solomon. As Paul phrases it, he "became obedient unto death, yea, even the death of the cross."

How, then, are we to understand this prologue which Mark has drawn from the Second Source? I am not sure that we can acquit the Roman Evangelist and his satellites of taking it in a concrete and literal sense which would have been impossible for Paul or John, or even as late as the third century for scholars such as Origen, fully versed in the poetic style of Jewish *midrash.* Let us see how Origen interprets it. About 175 A. D., the heathen philosopher Celsus, the Robert G. Ingersoll of his time, sought to bring Christianity into ridicule by treating this story of its beginning as literal, concrete fact. Origen rebuked him, citing the same examples I have just used of the vocation in vision of Ezekiel and Isaiah. Justly enough, he tells Celsus that if he had really known anything about Jewish methods of religious teaching, in particular what was known as Wisdom, from which I have also cited, he would not have committed the folly of taking poetic symbolism for literal fact. It is a great pity that we have so few scholars to-day like Origen, who know something about Oriental poetry. It is a greater pity that even when we have an Origen we pay no attention to what he says.

Matthew Arnold knew poetry from prose, and Matthew Arnold said, "Half the difficulties in the New Testament would vanish if men would only consent not to translate Oriental poetry into bald, matter-of-fact, western prose." The gospel narrative of Jesus' vision at the baptism of John, his vocation to be God's Servant-Son, and his "proving" by Satan in the wilderness is typical Jewish *midrash*, and *midrash* is what a contemporary Jewish scholar calls "the poetry of the Talmud." Even without Origen's key we ought to recognize the real nature and intention of the story of Jesus' temptation from the poetic use of vision and voice from heaven, the conventional Jewish method of conveying what is invisible to the outward eye and inaudible to the outward ear. Men of common sense should not need a Jewish rabbi to tell them that the dramatis personæ of Satan and angels belong to the realm of the unseen world, that world of vision which Oriental imagery uses as its approved method—indeed its only method—to express inward spiritual experience.

But if you will not believe Origen, take a modern Jewish scholar. Abrahams, in his *Short History of Jewish Literature*, tells us explicitly the nature of *midrash*, calling it, as I said, "the poetry of the Talmud." He also shows how Jewish teachers employed it to convey "spiritual," that is, abstract, truth. In other words vision and voice from heaven (*bath-qol*,

literally "daughter of a voice," or "what corresponds to a voice") are used to express what is imperceptible to outward eye and ear. "Midrash," say the rabbis, "is the hammer that smites the flinty rock of scripture, and brings out its sparks of living fire." That is the difference between poetry and prose. Poetry gives inward meanings. Prose gives outward facts. Unfortunately, there have always been people—particularly west of Suez—who cannot tell poetry from prose unless the lines are measured and rhymed and begin with a capital letter.

The Second Source, you see, went further back than the later Gospels for the beginnings of the gospel, and found it in the inward experience of Jesus at the baptism of John, before his appearance in Galilee, and of course before the witness of Peter began. It made no attempt to relate things that can be outwardly perceived. It did not intend the reader to understand that Jesus heard God speak from the sky, or had interviews with Satan, accepting the Devil's offer of an aërial journey to Jerusalem. It was no more intended originally that we should take this in a literal sense than when Jesus tells Peter that it is not flesh and blood, but his Father in heaven that has revealed to him the secret of the Messiahship. It is poetry, not prose, when Jesus says to the Twelve, "I beheld Satan as lightning fallen from heaven," or again, "Satan obtained leave to sift you as wheat."

The vision of Jesus, the *bath-qol* which declares his divine vocation, the temptations of Satan, these are poetic forms under which some unknown, primitive evangelist has set forth his conception of the true significance of the Lord's career. Under the conventional synagogue form of *midrash*, he describes the inward experience which must be assumed to have preceded the public ministry, if one would rightly explain and appreciate the career of the martyred Son of God. Suppose it were our own purpose at this time to go behind the course of outward events, which began on the beach by Capernaum, into the twilight of Jesus' inward experience, when he dedicated himself to the cause of the kingdom at the baptism of John. Surely we too might do far worse than put ourselves under the guidance of this poet-evangelist who by means of Old Testament imagery draws an exquisite parallel between the vocation of God's Servant-Son and the vocation of Jesus. As a poet's prologue to the prose witness of Peter, an address to the reader before the curtain rises upon the drama he is about to present, setting forth the spiritual meaning and lesson it conveys, this vision-story could hardly be surpassed. When we refuse to give it its proper place we do a double wrong: we deprive it of its highest significance and value, and at the same time we involve our own search for historic fact in needless contradiction and confusion.

From the poetry of the prologue we pass abruptly at Mk. 1: 14 to the plain prose of Peter's experience. The scene is that already described of the lakeside, the fishing-boats with the nets drying and mending, the appeal to become "fishers of men," the Sabbath in Capernaum, ending with the concourse at Peter's door, and Jesus' withdrawal from the career of a miracle-monger to carry forward the work of John.

A group of anecdotes follows, illustrating the opposition Jesus encountered from the synagogue authorities. First the scribes questioned his authority, finally the Pharisees, angered at his disregard of the Sabbath law, conspired with "the Herodians" against his life. This group of anecdotes in Mk. 1: 40–3: 6 is followed by a longer one in 3: 7–6: 13 relating the choosing, training, and sending of the Twelve. First the formation of the inner circle is described, with digressions to contrast this group with Jesus' fleshly kin who regarded him as deranged, and the scribes who called him a demoniac. Next, Mark forms a group of three parables of the kingdom, which he regards as riddles intended to hide the "mystery of the kingdom of God" from outsiders, so that the inner group may have it as their exclusive possession (4: 1–34). Thereafter follows a series of five faith-wonders (4: 35–6: 6), ending with the sending out of the Twelve, after they have thus been qualified for their service of preaching and healing (6: 7–13).

III

Such is Mark's account of the Galilean ministry. The outline is simple. Whence the particular anecdotes are drawn, especially the digressions, it is more difficult to say, though sometimes parallels in the Second Source, such as the accusation of the scribes, and the parable of the mustard-seed, make it highly probable that here, as before, Mark resorts occasionally to this older account. The Galilean ministry closes, as already set forth, with a singular parallel to the farewell Supper in Jerusalem, the miracle of the loaves, and departure by boat for Bethsaida. It will be noticed that the story has a certain completeness in itself even without the Judean ministry related in the second part; for the sending of the Twelve, fully equipped for the task "to preach and to heal," is an equivalent, as far as their authority is concerned, for the later story of the great commission from the risen Christ.

There is, then, a certain polarity of gospel story. The two sacraments are its centers of interest. Mark has already explained the significance of baptism, the initiatory rite of the Church. That is implied in the story of the beginnings. The story of the miracle of the loaves, with the subsequent mountain vigil of Jesus and his coming to the storm-tossed disciples, walking on the sea, has unmistakable reflections of the

Eucharist, the vigil in Gethsemane, the victory over the powers of death, and the return to the despairing disciples. It is preceded by Mark's description of their outfit and conduct, ending even with the statement that they "anointed with oil many that were sick and healed them" (though their instructions made no mention of this). Manifestly, Mark's object is to find authority for the actual practice of traveling preachers and elders of the Church in his own time. For so, in fact, church officers actually did, as we learn from the Epistle of James and other early documents. So also with the story of the miracle of the loaves. The reason for the minutiæ of the orderly arrangement of multitude, the evening hour, the thanksgiving of Jesus as he receives, blesses, and breaks the bread, the distribution by the Twelve, and even the gathering of the remaining fragments, is the desire to find authority in the example of Jesus for the actual practice of the Church. For we learn from many early sources that the Eucharist was observed in just this orderly way.

The only term by which I can describe this characteristic of gospel construction, which produces a certain amount of assimilation between the two halves of the story, is "polarity." In the fourth Gospel, as we know, it has actually gone the length of removing all account of the Eucharist from the farewell Supper in Jerusalem and transferring its entire sacramental sig-

nificance to the scene in Galilee. The explanation of the phenomenon in John is too complicated to be attempted here. We only note the fact as significant of the religious use to which this material has been put before it was given to us in its present form, at the same time that we emphatically insist that the farewell love-feast in Galilee as truly stands for a historic event, however developed in later story, as the farewell Supper in Jerusalem, which was made a perpetual memorial of Jesus' sacrificial death.

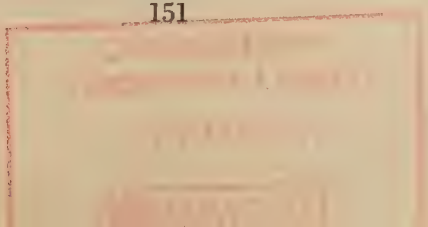
Since we have already dealt with the exile section of Mark, showing it to be in religious value and intention a sort of substitute for Luke's Book of Acts, we might now turn to the second portion of the Gospel, the story of the Judean ministry. But before doing so, it will be worth our while to cast a backward glance over the story already told. We have noted that it is not all drawn directly from the lips of Peter. The prologue is poetry, reduced and abbreviated from the Source more fully transcribed by Matthew and Luke. The depiction of the beginning of the ministry at Capernaum seems distinctly traceable to the witness of Peter. The remainder consists of groups of anecdotes, one leading in another, or brought in as a digression in the midst of another. Thus the blasphemy of the scribes is clearly out of place as a foil to the opposition of Jesus' mother and brethren, since these same scribes do not come down

from Jerusalem till much later in the story. But the incident of the mother and brethren is itself a digression. It is brought in at this point only to show how the proper application of the blessing Jesus pronounced on those who hear the word of God and do it, making them his spiritual kin, is to the disciples. Luke gives this blessing on Jesus' spiritual kin from the Second Source in a very different connection. Mark has many examples of this digressive, "that-reminds-me" style. One story suggests another. Sometimes the only connecting link is καὶ ἔλεγεν, "and he used to say," or, "This too was one of his sayings." Sometimes Mark digresses and never resumes the thread, as when he pauses to explain why Herod said, "This is John whom I beheaded," and never returns to tell what Herod did when the rumor of Jesus' mighty works came to his ears. These digressions and intercalations out of chronological order are interesting confirmations of the elder's testimony as to the nature of the compilation. This is just what we should expect from the simple reporter of anecdotes for religious rather than historical purposes. The literary man, historian or biographer, constructs a more consistent order.

Take another example of Markan "order." Two paragraphs, the rejection in Nazareth and the mission of the Twelve, are inserted between the group of faith-wonders ending with the raising of Jairus'

daughter, and the report to Herod. Mark has used the faith-wonders to show how the Twelve were equipped for their task. He is also very intent on explaining why Jesus' fellow-countrymen reject him. Hence the two inserted paragraphs. But this obscures the connection of the faith-wonders with the report to Herod to such an extent that even some first-class modern interpreters fail to see it. Even a Bernhard Weiss in his "Life of Christ" talks about Herod's attention being attracted by the activity of the Twelve (!), as if it were *their* mighty works which made Herod say, "This is John whom I beheaded, therefore are these mighty works done in him." Take out Mark's insertions of the Nazareth episode and the mission of the Twelve, and you will see what Herod is talking about—the faith-wonders, which culminate in the raising of the dead.

These examples show that something can be made out of the authentic course of events when we separate the broader outline of Mark from the particular groups of anecdotes he employs, and classify both material and application according to the didactic purpose displayed. Perhaps we might already fairly claim to have shown the broader outline to rest upon reliable Petrine testimony. But besides this, some important facts bearing on the transmission of the record can be learned by studying the didactic purpose of Mark's order.



We have seen that the story begins with the baptism of Jesus, related in such a way that no Christian could fail to see the parallel with his own experience. For it was in baptism that the believer received the Spirit of Adoption which taught him to cry "Abba, Father"; so that this rite became the starting-point for the exercise of such gifts of the Spirit as each obtained. The story ends with a parallel to the farewell Supper, which closes the Judean ministry also. As that is concluded by the vigil in Gethsemane, the cross, and resurrection, so here, after the miracle of the loaves, Jesus departs alone to the mountain for his vigil of prayer, while the disciples battle through storm and darkness on the lake. At last "in the fourth watch of the night" (the resurrection hour, according to ancient observance) Jesus comes to them victorious over the powers of darkness, "walking on the sea."

It is hardly needful to dwell on details of correspondence between this scene in Galilee, and the Supper and night of farewell in Jerusalem, because any one familar with the story of the miracle of the loaves in either of its two Markan forms cannot fail to see that the full description—the evening hour, the people disposed in orderly eating companies (συμπόσια), as when Christians gathered for the love-feast (ἀγάπη) in their places of assemblage or the open air, Jesus in the center receiving the gifts of

food, pronouncing the thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία) and breaking the bread, the Twelve acting the part of deacons in the service and afterward in collecting the remnants (as we know was done at the Church observance)—is manifestly intended to bring out the parallelism and thus invest with greater solemnity the later ritual. Knowing the practical purposes of religious edification with which these reminiscences of Galilee were related, and the rules which governed the use of anecdote and parable in Synagogue and Church alike, modern scholars cannot well mistake the significance of these correspondences between the close of the Galilean ministry and the close of the Judean. If we did close our eyes to it, the fourth Evangelist would compel us to open them; for in the fourth Gospel, there is no Eucharist at all save this Galilean miracle of the loaves. The whole interpretation of its significance is introduced by the fourth Evangelist in the discourse of Jesus at Capernaum after the miracle of the loaves and walking on the sea, including even the words about eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of Man.

The fact that Mark's story of the Galilean Ministry begins and ends with anecdotes illustrating respectively the significance of baptism and the Lord's Supper can hardly be accidental. The arrangement is not in the ordinary sense of the word "historical."

It is religious. It need not be *un*historical. In its main outline it cannot but conform to the actual course of events. The Galilean ministry did begin with the scene in Capernaum. It did end with the farewell Supper at the lakeside after the conspiracy of the Pharisees with Herod had made it impossible for Jesus to continue his public work in Galilee. I see no reason to question the occurrence of some incident of deliverance from storm and shipwreck on the lake through the courage and faith of Jesus overcoming the panic of the rest. True, the walking on the sea fails to appear in Mark's second version of the miracle of the loaves and is omitted by Luke. It may be an allegorized form of the story of the quelling of the storm which Mark introduces after the parables of the kingdom as the first of his group of faith-wonders (4: 35–41). But the faith-wonders are, in their basis, real occurrences. Except for the Gerasene demoniac, which is not a faith-wonder and may be Mark's individual contribution, they rest on actual events, and there is no intention to misrepresent fact in the telling, any more than in the unconscious heightening of the supernatural as a story passes on from earlier to later Gospels. The question of fact simply was not raised. The effort was only to be true to the religious lesson in view.

We do injustice to our Evangelists when we try to make historical critics out of writers who were not

trying to meet the needs of criticism, but the needs of men hungering and thirsting for the gospel message. Moderns want an accurate historical narrative. The ancients did not. By all means let the moderns obtain all they can from the ancient stories; but let it be remembered that the purpose of the telling was something else. It was religious, and it had liberty almost unbounded in the adaptation of narrative to "edification." That explains why the Matthean version of the walking on the sea has a further addition corresponding to the special part of Peter in the story of the farewell Supper in Jerusalem. We are told that Peter offered to go with Jesus to prison and death, then pitiably failed in face of the powers of evil, but was finally restored by the intervention of the risen Christ and became the founder of the Church's resurrection faith. Just as John adds the symbolical trait to the story that the boat, after Jesus' appearance, was "immediately at the land whither they went," so Matthew seemingly appends an allegorizing parallel to Peter's denial and restoration. When he saw the courage of Jesus triumphing over the storm, says Matthew, Peter said, "Lord, if it be thou, bid me come unto thee upon the waters." But when he attempted to face the violence of the storm his faith failed. Then Jesus grasped his hand saying, "O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?" Finally, in Jesus'

company, Peter trod the waves and together they came to the company of the disciples. These had counted the appearance on the waves but a phantasm, but when Jesus came in company with Peter (cf. I Cor. 15: 5) they all acknowledged him to be "the Son of God."

Thus poetic symbolism (*midrash*) closes the tradition of the Galilean ministry, as poetic symbolism had begun it. This should have been expected from the nature of the record; for its motive was to supply religious needs before those of history. Fortunately for our study of the Galilean ministry, we can identify the two focal points in the orbit of this cluster of little planets. The system of primitive anecdotes revolves around baptism and the Lord's Supper, the two primitive institutions of the Church with which we happen to know that such narrative was actually connected. For the "teaching of baptisms" of which we hear in Heb. 6: 2 is an early example of that catechetic preparation for admission to the Church which later was so fully developed. To the "teaching of baptisms" must have belonged much of what we read in the story of the Galilean ministry, how that Jesus, after he had been anointed with the Holy Ghost, came into all Galilee, proclaiming the glad tidings of the kingdom and healing all who were under the tyranny of the devil.

IV

The Galilean ministry looks forward at its close to the sacrament of the Supper. The ensuing story was the word of the cross. It told of Calvary and the resurrection, events already symbolically reflected in the latest scenes of the Galilean ministry. It is fortunate for our quest after the earliest traces of the record that Paul not only reminds the Corinthians of the common resurrection gospel which he, in agreement with all the rest, had reported to them, but that he also refers to the "night in which Jesus was betrayed," showing that the story of Gethsemane was part of their teaching. In the same connection, Paul bids them "tell the story (καταγγέλλειν) of the Lord's death" by a perpetual reënactment of the drama. For the expression is technical. It refers to the "telling of the story" of the redemption out of Egypt, which was central to the ritual of Passover, just as the "sacred story" (ἱερος λόγος) was central to the dramatic "mysteries" of Greek religion. The Corinthians are bidden by Paul to "tell the story" of Christ's redemption by reënacting the scene of his sacrificial death. We know, therefore, how this element of gospel narrative began. This second part of Mark is in its beginnings coeval with the Supper itself. The story had been handed down, as Paul

explicitly says, "from the Lord" (*παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου*).

Thus through all these varied groups of anecdotes, placed in differing orders, adapted to varying applications according to the religious needs of the hearers (*πρὸς τὰς χρείας*), we can still distinguish the primitive witness of Peter. The story of the Galilean ministry is shot through with evidences of his homely narrative. What is far more important, we can still dimly discern the outline of a far greater figure, moving consistently forward toward its purpose of devotion. What that purpose was will appear more clearly from the sayings and discourses of the Second Source. But we can already declare it in general terms. It was that Jehovah's name might be sanctified, that His kingdom might come, that through the return of Israel to its God-given vocation, all nations might find new access to the common Father, that thus His will might be done on the earth, even as it is done in heaven.

The story of the confession of Jesus as "the Christ of God," which begins the second part of Mark's Gospel, bears the historic stamp of Peter's testimony equally with that which began the first. The scene is Cæsarea Philippi. Jesus and the Twelve are in exile. His work in Galilee is broken off. Only from Jerusalem could Jesus hope any longer to con-

tinue the mission of John by rallying Israel to the national religious ideal. The work, if resumed at all, must begin from the temple, Jehovah's dwelling, still (to devout faith) "a house of prayer for all the nations," though turned to base and selfish purposes by a mercenary priestly caste.

After his great digression to introduce a ministry to Gentiles, Mark takes up again the theme first broached by the report to Herod of Jesus' mighty works, "Whom do men say that I am?" Peter speaks for the rest with ready response: "Thou art the Christ." But his enthusiasm and theirs is damped by Jesus' revelation of his own conception of Christhood. The question now becomes: What does it mean to be "the Christ"? In Mark's account, Peter takes the part of Satan in the temptation story, and receives the same rebuke. Now for the first time the shadow of the cross is thrown across the path. It grows darker and darker till the final catastrophe. The Twelve follow, but with lagging feet.

At this new beginning, as at the scene of the first call of the Galilean fishermen, we have authentic Petrine story. But here again, plain narrative is combined with *midrash*, religious interpretation by vision and voice from heaven. Once more we shall do injustice to the meaning unless we distinguish poetry from prose. In the first half of the Gospel

the Evangelist fell back on the conventional device of vision to interpret the vocation of Jesus. Here not so much the vocation of Jesus as that of his witnesses is in question. Especially are the three pillars of the apostolic Church concerned, Peter, James, and John, and their proclamation of the death and resurrection of Jesus, soon to return as the heavenly Son of Man. Mark can find no other adequate vehicle for the revelation to Peter and his associates of what was implied in Christhood than the vision of the transfigured ones and the heavenly voice declaring the supreme authority of Jesus. This transfiguration scene might well be called the revelation of Peter.

Let me repeat. The prose version of how Peter and his fellow-witnesses came to look upon Jesus as "the Christ, the Son of the living God" is contained in the story of Peter's confession, followed by Jesus' rebuke of their unworthy ideal of a Christ "according to the things of men." The poetic version, interpreting the significance of this ideal "according to the things of God" is given in the ensuing *midrash* or story of symbolic vision, whose significance remains hid, as the Evangelist explains, until after "the Son of Man was risen from the dead." This need not necessarily have been drawn from the same Jewish-christian source as the vision story of the baptism, but it is interjected from some extraneous source, and has a similar character and motive.

Of course, it is true that after the great catastrophe Peter and the Eleven did come to this higher and worthier view. Paul, who tells of God energizing "in" him to reveal the glorified Jesus as a heavenly Redeemer from the power of sin and death, tells us explicitly that God had similarly energized "in" Peter, unto an apostleship of the circumcision. That is proof positive that Peter really did come to this higher conception of Christhood. The primitive "Son of Man" doctrine, so prominent in the Thessalonian Epistles, though largely superseded in the later Pauline writings, undoubtedly represents the Church's primitive Christology, set over against the Son-of-David doctrine of mere Judaism. The Son-of-Man doctrine exhibits in contrast to the Son-of-David doctrine a Christhood "according to the things of God." But while we may well believe, as the story of Peter's confession maintains, that Jesus at Cæsarea Philippi pointed to the Danielic vision of a kingdom given by the Ancient of Days to the representative of Israel brought on the clouds to the heavenly judgment-seat, it is quite certain that the Twelve did not *at this time* permit the apocalyptic hope to displace from their minds the more worldly ambitions subsumed under the title "Son of David." The tragedy of Calvary lies in the temporary triumph of the lower ideal over the higher. Had the disciples really admitted to their minds the belief that

Jesus must be glorified through a martyr death, introducing a kingdom not of this world, but a higher and heavenly order like that of the glorified ones in paradise—had they consented to see these "tenements of clay" superseded by heavenly "tabernacles" such as Paul describes in explaining to the Corinthians his doctrine of a "transfigured" (μεταμορφούμεθα) resurrection body, the whole course of things would have been different. The Twelve would not have deserted Jesus in the hour of crisis. Still less would they have been overwhelmed by despair and unbelief when the predictions of his martyrdom began to be fulfilled and reports were brought to them of his resurrection. The Evangelists, then, are quite right in qualifying their account of the transfiguration vision by the statement that its import did not come to the Twelve till "after the resurrection." But that is only another way of saying that the lesson of the story belongs to the later time. The reader is to see in it what the disciples would have seen, *if* they had not held to their blind belief in a Christ "according to the things of men." Vision and voice from heaven are invoked to help the reader understand a process which really took place, but could not be witnessed by eye or ear of flesh.

Let us see, then, how the transfiguration vision interprets the calling of Peter to his ministry as witness for the cross and resurrection, as the baptismal voice

and vision had previously interpreted the calling of Jesus to his ministry in Galilee.

The doctrine of a Christ according to the things of God when we meet it in Paul has already passed beyond its earliest stages. Paul himself throws light upon the transition from a Son-of-David doctrine to a Servant doctrine by his reference to the earlier experience of Peter, and his statement that the doctrine which he "received" was that Christ "died for our sins according to the Scriptures." We call this the Servant doctrine, because it is obviously based on the Isaian figure of the Servant who bears the sins of many and makes intercession for transgressors. I hope later on to give evidence in confirmation of our natural supposition that this is the conception which came into Peter's mind after the crucifixion as the true explanation of the tragedy. Jesus had suffered, the just for the unjust, that he might bring Israel to God. That is Peter's gospel. When one adds that Jesus died not for that nation only, but that he might bring together into one the children of God that are scattered abroad, one obtains a gospel such as Paul's "for the uncircumcision." John (as we call him) gives it in that form.

But while the Servant doctrine came first for the opening of the eyes of Peter and the Eleven after the tragedy of Calvary, it was not really first in origin. The first departure from a merely Jewish

Christology, a Son-of-David doctrine, "according to the things of men," was Jesus' own word concerning that Son of Man who receives the eternal kingdom from the Ancient of Days. Its roots seem to go back to the confession at Cæsarea Philippi, for Jesus certainly did not assume the title earlier. On the other hand, he did not lead the Twelve to their fate in Jerusalem in the expectation that his martyrdom would end all. He gave them the assurance of his own faith that in spite of death it was the decree of God to give them the kingdom.

It is a Son-of-Man doctrine rather than a Servant doctrine which is set forth in the transfiguration vision. The Son-of-Man Christology did lead at a later time to fanatical extravagance, in consequence of current apocalyptic thought. But Jesus is not to blame for that. The more extravagant development of the doctrine we may probably date in 40 A. D. It had its simple beginnings here in Jesus' answer to Peter's confession, and the transfiguration vision appended here is an attempt on the part of some primitive interpreter to give the content of a Christhood "according to the things of God" over against the lower, earthly ideal which Jesus had rebuked. His view is a typical Son-of-Man doctrine.

The Gospel of Matthew gives in addition to the transfiguration, immediately after the confession of Peter and before the rebuke, its own account of the

revelation to Peter. Its object is to show that Peter's revelation of the Christ was no less divine than that of Paul. In Galatians, Paul had declared that flesh and blood had not supplied him with his apostolic message, but God, who raised Jesus from the dead, and thus gave him to be made manifest. So, in Matthew's addition, Jesus declares to Peter that flesh and blood have not revealed to him the true nature of his Master, but the heavenly Father. Hence Peter will be the foundation of the Church's resurrection faith. In purpose and intent this is a later parallel to the transfiguration. The writer aims to give the inner significance of the confession, just as the transfiguration story shows how Peter and they that were with him received a revelation of the glory of the risen Christ of the same order as the revelation claimed by Paul. Now Paul speaks of this revelation of a Christ *of God* as the "ministry of the new covenant" in II Cor. 3–6. In this great defense of his apostleship, Paul takes the vision of Moses on Sinai as the supreme instance of the Old Covenant, and contrasts with it the vision of the glory of God "in the face of the risen Christ" which had been given to him and his fellow-witnesses. The glory which had been shown to Moses was transitory, it faded from Moses' face so that he hid its passing from the children of Israel. The splendor of the New Covenant continually increased from glory to glory. To those who

had received this vision, it was a transfiguring power by which even their own mortal bodies were "transfigured into the same likeness." For this reason no earthly sufferings could daunt them, for they knew that if their earthly house of this "tabernacle" were dissolved, they had a heavenly house, not made with hands, wherewith they would be "clothed upon."

It is this gospel of a glorified Christ leading his people to an immortality like that of the men of paradise, Moses and Elias, "the men who were taken up, who have not tasted death since their birth," as II Esdras has it, which is set forth in the figurative language of the transfiguration vision. Just as Moses at Sinai, after the revelation of the Law, takes up into the mount Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and after six days of preparation enters with Joshua into the midst of the overshadowing cloud (Ex. 24: 9–18), so Jesus in this Christian "revelation of Peter," "six days" after the confession, takes Peter, James, and John, the sharers of Jesus' cup of martyrdom and pillars of His Church,[1] and brings them up into a high mountain apart. There he is "transfigured" before them into that "body of glory" which, according to Paul's teaching, must take the place of these earthly "tabernacles." With Jesus

[1] James, the Lord's brother, became the "pillar" after the death of his namesake, the son of Zebedee, but from a very early date there is interchange of function and attribute between the two.

appear now "in glory" Moses and Elias, who in contemporary Jewish and early Christian belief are the denizens of paradise and "forerunners of the resurrection." For (as we learn from Irenæus) "the elders, the disciples of the Apostles," taught that Moses and Elias "stand in the presence of the Lord of the whole earth" to be His remembrancers of His promise of redemption for Israel. They are to appear upon earth as "examples of incorruption" (προοιμιάζοντες τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν) before the second coming Sometimes in Jewish apocalypse Enoch takes the place of Elijah as the witness of heavenly conditions, but the rabbis explain that Enoch, as a Gentile, is to be the preacher of repentance to the Gentiles. Of course the glorified do not need earthly "tabernacles." Peter in proposing it "knew not what he said."

It would take too long to trace the antecedents of this primitive Jewish and Christian legend of Moses and Elias or Moses and Enoch as the two "heavenly witnesses." I will simply refer you to Rev. 11: 3–13, where the function of Moses and Elias is more fully developed, and to the two passages in Mark where further traces of it appear. One trace is the utterance ascribed to Herod, who thinks the beheaded John is risen again and has returned from paradise to do the miracles expected of the returning Elias; the other is the question of the disciples after Peter's confes-

sion, how they are to meet the objection of the scribes that "Elias is not yet come." These allusions show that the beliefs I have described about the world to come were current in Jesus' time. Better knowledge of them would help us to appreciate the transfiguration vision and its meaning. But enough has been told to show its essential point. Peter, still blinded by his Jewish idea of a Christ according to the things of men, wants to provide "earthly tabernacles" for Jesus and Moses and Elias. Because he deems it "good to be here," he imagines the glorified ones might wish to return to earthly conditions. Then the voice of God teaches Peter the higher truth, as in the vision at Joppa. From the cloud of the overshadowing divine presence comes a rebuke of his foolish words. It proclaims the glorified Jesus. Peter and his companions are to know him henceforth as God's Son, His Chosen. This is the Christ of God; to him all obedience is due.

The revelation of the Son of God to Peter and those who were with him takes this form when interpreted through the spiritual eye and the spiritual ear. Those who were privileged to behold the inward glory of Jesus saw in him the Son of Man exalted to paradise with the "heralds of incorruption." This is the message with which they were intrusted in "the holy mount," though for the time its meaning was hid even from them. The poet-evangelist sets forth the

deeper significance of the tragedy in these mystical terms in order that the reader may realize in advance the true significance of the events that follow.

The transfiguration story was not intended by its first author to be taken in the bald, literal sense in which we Occidentals take it. The original hearers realized that it stood for the apostolic witness of resurrection through the glorified Son of Man, as Peter and the rest *came* to understand it after their spiritual eyes were opened. The reader is warned not to think of the revelation as belonging properly to this early time by the closing words:

> And as they were coming down from the mount (Jesus) charged them that they should tell no man what they had seen (Mt. τὸ ὅραμα, "the vision") save when the Son of Man should have risen from the dead. So they kept the matter to themselves, questioning inwardly what the rising again from the dead should mean.

Unfortunately, the Occidental Church, from a period perhaps as early as the Gospel of Mark itself, has shown a gross incapacity to distinguish poetry from prose. The "holy mount" of the transfiguration is not to be found on the map, any more than the "exceeding high mountain" of the temptation story, from which one sees "all the kingdoms of the world." The difficulties we create for ourselves in the sacred record are largely due to simple ignorance of the methods of teaching, common to Church and Syna-

gogue, by which, in the earliest times, teachers and preachers sought to make spiritual things spiritually understood. We are as unjust in refusing them liberty to use the poetry that was the natural vehicle for their religious ideas as were the judges of Joan of Arc, who could make nothing of her story of visions and voices save witchcraft or an attempt to deceive. If in addition to this ignorant injustice we insist on forcing primitive story into the Procrustean bed of a theological theory of inerrancy, and put on it the additional load of conforming to all the requirements of the historical critic, how can we expect it to fulfill its mission? The wonder is that under such treatment any of the pure milk of the word is left.

The foregoing chapter has sought to distinguish poetry from prose in the gospel record. We do not disparage or undervalue the poetry. It has its own message, to be learned by an appropriate method of approach. But in order to get at that real course of events through which God reveals to us moderns his redemptive purpose in the career of Jesus, the distinction must be made. For the time being, it behooves us to leave the poetry and turn to the prose. Our present task is to trace out a critically reliable history, in order to base upon it our own understanding of God's meaning. The results here given represent my own conviction as to the meaning intended

by those who first related these sacred anecdotes, collected, as I believe, under the authority, if not the authorship, of Mark. Others will take a different view. It is not without consideration for all other views accessible to me that I have reached my own. Some go farther and declare it an impiety that methods of critical analysis should be applied at all. Every part of the sacred record should, in their belief, be regarded as history in the modern sense of the word. This contention seems to me to do injustice both to the primitive church teachers, who did not intend their pulpit anecdotes to be subjected to any such application, and also to that divine Providence which has secured to us a record of varied form calling us by its very nature to apply to it our keenest powers of research.

But again I say, if any man be otherwise minded, we have no rule in the Church of God save that he should not judge his brother. No man is obliged to analyze the sunbeam. To some the violet and blue of the spectrum, the orange, the red, and the green, are all alike just God's sunlight. Be it so. To critics, also, the ancient record is just God's sunlight. We use it like the rest of you. But we think that we also have a message from Him in the distinction of its mingled colors of history and legend, of poetry and prose.

V

LIGHT FROM THE SECOND SOURCE

I

THUS far we have sought foundation for a critically reliable story of Jesus in the reminiscences of Peter's preaching, credibly reported to have been collected in Rome under the hand of Mark after the death of Peter and Paul. This date at the end of Nero's reign (67 A. D.) was familiar to the early Church as closing the epoch of the eye-witnesses. We made no systematic attempt to compare Mark's record with the much earlier, though meager, references of Paul, nor with the material added in common by Matthew and Luke, which modern critics designate by the symbol Q. It is time now that we took this further step.

Matthew and Luke would seem to have exercised good judgment in resorting to Mark for their narrative outline, as well as in supplementing it from another, a so-called "Second" Source, which critics reconstruct from the Q material. This Second Source we designated S. Mark's outline, however defective,

undoubtedly was the best available. It was known that he did not give the order of a true "narration" (διήγησις), and he obviously was sorely deficient on the side of teaching material. Matthew and Luke supply this lack, but neither makes much improvement on Mark's order. Matthew makes a partial recast into a form adapted to his own idea of a framework for the "commandments." Luke leaves out the theoretical journey into Gentile regions and substitutes an equally theoretical journey to Jerusalem. Otherwise, he leaves Mark's order virtually unchanged. Clearly, neither Matthew nor Luke seems to have thought the order of their Second Source more apostolic than Mark's, nor do they resort to it in preference to Mark for anything an eye-witness could have told. In short, nobody would dream of attaching to the Source the name of an Apostle were it not for certain misapplied expressions of Papias, which were not uttered about any source at all, but had reference to our own Matthew, a totally different book.

In the present chapter we shall endeavor to avoid these question-begging assumptions. We know that S existed. Matthew and Luke *had* a common source from which they supplemented Mark. We do not know how much more S contained besides the Q material. We do not know, in fact, whether it was all one source, or whether we should not distinguish an S^1, an S^2 etc., as some critics do. We do not know for cer-

tain that the contents were mainly of discourse material; still less is there reason to apply to them the term *logia*. I repeat, the term *logia*, "oracle," "sacred saying," is used by Papias only with reference to the contents of a totally different work, and most of the Q material we have is not of the character of *logia*. The typical Q complex has the literary form of discourse introduced by some incident or saying, a form known to ancient rhetoric as dialogue or διατριβή.

Nor was S limited to teaching material. It has been said that S was not a "gospel" in the same sense as our other Gospels. This is another false inference. On the contrary, one of the most important Q elements is the introductory account of the preaching of the Baptist, followed by the stories of the baptism and temptation. That is no part of the teaching of Jesus. Another Q section, at least equally considerable, shows by appeal to "the works of the Christ" how and in what sense Jesus fulfilled the promise of "he that should come." The argument rests solely on Jesus' *work*. The healing of the Centurion's son was one of S's anecdotes. Of course the Q material from which S is reconstructed consists largely of discourse, because we define Q as the common material of Matthew and Luke not contained in Mark. But Q is not S. And if Mark himself has drawn from S, as most critics hold, then you exclude by the definition itself of Q whatever narrative appears in all

three. To say that S contained only discourse because you rest solely on the discourse supplements of Matthew and Luke to reconstruct it, is merely arguing in a circle. What we really know about the Second Source must be learned from the Q material. Our knowledge can be briefly summed up in a direct contradiction of each of the three propositions you will commonly find made about the Source, all three being based on the misapplication of the statements of Papias. (1) S was not written by Matthew, nor by any other Apostle. The reason has already been stated. (2) It was not a loose aggregation of *logia*. This also has been shown. (3) It was not written in Aramaic or Hebrew; because the extracts made from it by Matthew and Luke run word for word the same in Greek for long sentences. Like Gospel material in general, the Q anecdotes are derived *ultimately* from Aramaic sources. But the document S drawn upon by Matthew and Luke to supplement Mark is the document in question, and that was in Greek.

Having thus cleared our minds of the false assumptions which vitiate nine out of ten attempts to reconstruct the famous Second Source, let us see what light can be derived from it, remembering that any sections from outside the double-tradition material Q must be independently proved to belong to S before we rest any inferences upon them. This mode of

reconstruction is less simple than the easy method of adding together Matthew and Luke, subtracting Mark, and taking the duplicate remainder as the Source. But it is not altogether impracticable, and will give more reliable results.

II

I will not attempt here to answer the difficult question why Mark, if he used the Second Source at all, did not use it more. Of one thing we may be sure: he did not omit such material as the Lord's Prayer because he did not know it. The omissions are not from ignorance, but from design. In other words, the reason why so little of S appears in Mark is because his aim was different, and the Source did not impose itself upon him by any special standing or authority. It is the mode of Mark's employment of S with which we are now chiefly concerned. As we shall observe in a series of instances, he adapts the material to an application of his own, giving it often a quite different sense. To make the best use of our comparison, it will be worth while to define this difference.

Take, for example, Mark's explanation of why Jesus taught in parables. It forms part of a consistent Markan theory. He bases his explanation on the saying on the hiding of the mystery of the kingdom from all but the elect. This saying is an ancient one,

which can be traced to several prechristian sources. The rabbis based it on Isaiah 24: 16, which they rendered: "My secret is mine, my secret is mine," making it refer to Israel as Jehovah's hierophant, the bearer of revelation to the world. In some early uncanonical Christian sources it appears in the form, "My mystery belongs to me and to the children of my household." In Paul it is the doctrine of the hiding of the mystery from the foundation of the world until its revelation through the Spirit. In a Wisdom poem placed in Jesus' mouth by the Second Source and thence derived by Matthew and Luke, it appears as a thanksgiving of the Son (that is, originally Israel, but, in the Christian adaptation, Jesus, as Wisdom incarnate) a thanksgiving for the election by which the Lord of heaven and earth has chosen out of his wide domain only this one people to be the recipient of his revelation, hiding it even from those who pride themselves on their philosophy. Such had been His "good pleasure." Now Israel rejoices in knowing God and being known of Him. For just as the Gentiles are ignorant of this gracious election, so they must depend upon Israel for all real knowledge of God. None know Him save the son, and he to whomsoever the son willeth to reveal Him.

What does Mark make of this poem and its doctrine of the hiding of the mystery of the Kingdom

from all "outsiders"? You will find it inserted into his account of the parables of the kingdom, which (as Mark tells the story) were uttered as riddles, so that none but Jesus' spiritual kin might get the sense. Mark adopts Paul's explanation of why Jesus' fellow-countrymen did not accept him, by saying "God gave them a spirit of stupor, eyes that they should not see and ears that they should not hear" (Rom. 11: 8). He now quotes the original passage from Is. 6: 9, appending it to the Q logion in the form: "Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God, but to them that are outside, all things are done in parables."

This is not only a very free adaptation of the logion, but an extreme application of Paul's doctrine of the hardening of Israel. It is quite certain that Isaiah did *not* mean that his preaching was intended to bring judgment upon Israel, but only that Israel acted as if they wished it so. It is equally certain that Jesus did *not* use parables to hide his message, but on the contrary to illuminate it and make its meaning clear to the simplest mind. Mark is carried away by his desire to meet the objection of Gentile unbelievers, who say, "How can you expect us to believe in your Christ when his own people do not?" He falls back on Paul's quotation from Isaiah to prove that the hardening was of God, and he uses the parables as an example to show that Jesus

did not expect to convert more than a remnant, purposely hiding the mystery of the kingdom from the rest. This motive assigned for the preaching in parables is only part of a pervasive effort of this Evangelist. As the brilliant critic Wrede pointed out in his book called *Das Messiasgeheimniss*, "The Secret of the Messiahship," Jesus (according to Mark) hides his wonder-working power, silences the witness of the demons, forbids the disciples to tell any man that he was Christ, or to reveal the transfiguration vision. All this (as Mark takes it) was to "hide the mystery of the kingdom." Such a use of Q material as this throws a very important light on the testimony of Mark. We must make some allowance for his apologetic interest. We must infer that he uses his material freely, and that he, as well as those who handled it before him, had objections to meet like those which confronted Paul. We are not making the best and fullest use of the records providentially transmitted to us unless we interpret them with due regard to the times for which they were intended, and the special applications made by those who report them.

III

But if we begin to make comparisons between Mark and the Second Source, where shall we stop? Have we any means of deciding, beyond our own

fallible judgment, as to what is more and what is less authentic? Most providentially we have.

Mere relative age would not decide. Mark certainly borrows from the Second Source, and to this extent establishes a presumption in its favor. In Q material we do come nearer to the original. But on the other hand, we have nothing to indicate that the Second Source had apostolic standing—rather the contrary. Mark is at least indirectly related to Peter. Again, the Q material is highly poetic in form. The discourses of Jesus it reports are more rhetorically finished than we should expect from oral delivery. There is a balanced symmetry of strophe and antistrophe, poetic parallelism, quotation from lyric Wisdom in metrical form, even the use of recurrent refrain. This savors more of literary composition than of unpremeditated speech. If there were no other evidence, we might well hesitate to rest upon such anonymous report, which Matthew and Luke in their cautious use subordinate to Mark, and which Mark himself uses with even less consideration. Fortunately, there is another witness, the oldest and most reliable of all.

(1) Paul has few direct references to the character and disposition of Jesus; but so far as they go, they are decisive. Once he speaks definitely of "the meekness and gentleness of Christ." Several times he speaks of "the mind which was in Christ,"

and of "the Spirit," which to him was "the Spirit of Jesus," the life of Jesus determining its moral quality. Meekness and gentleness are again the predominant traits. Love is all-pervasive. Faith and hope come next. The fruits of the Spirit are "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control." He in whom Christ lives again "beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things," in a love that "never faileth." Without the definite statement of the fact, we may be certain that these spiritual qualities are so many characterizations of Jesus. They are made by one for whom it was "Christ to live." Paul paints his mental portrait of Jesus against the gold background of the Isaian Servant who in humility and obedience suffered death undeserved, even the death of the cross, that he might bring us to God. But he would not have used that background had it not been the truest and best. Paul reports very few actual words of Jesus, but he knew the spirit of Christ. To me it seems highly significant of the reliability of this unknown report in S that while we cannot tell how closely its language corresponds with the exact words of Jesus, the traits of character revealed are precisely those which dominate in the conception of Paul. Mark has nowhere a single reference to the meekness or lowliness of Christ. The very terms are utterly

wanting from his Gospel. He is so intent on setting forth the strong Son of God that we should scarcely know from his record alone that Jesus' character was such as Paul depicts. The look of anger and rebuke are more than once described, seldom that of love and gentleness.

Look now at the Second Source. Here the spirit of Jesus is that of the saving, redeeming Wisdom of God. This is the keynote of the symphony. It is symbolized in the descent of the heavenly dove, whose mourning, tender note is used in Jewish metaphor to betoken the mourning of the divine Spirit over God's wayward sons. In Mark's extract this symbolism is lost. In the Source, the Spirit rests on One who will not break the bruised reed nor quench the smoking flax till he bring forth judgment unto victory. The Servant-Son is rejected by the wise and great, but welcomed by the lowly, justified by Wisdom's children. Jesus is endowed with a wisdom which cometh from above, whose appeal is:

> Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and
> I will give you rest.
> Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me.
> For I am *meek and lowly* in heart.
> And ye shall find rest for your souls;
> For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.

This closing stanza of the thanksgiving of Wisdom which the Second Source places in the mouth of

Jesus, fails to appear in the Lukan form, for the simple reason that Luke uses the preceding verse in application to the Twelve, with reference to whom the invitation would be inappropriate. No one will deny, however, its appropriateness to the hymn as a whole, nor will those, I think, who have studied the character of Jesus as depicted in the Second Source, deny the appropriateness of the quotation as a whole to the character and message of the Teacher in whose mouth it is placed.

On the authority of Paul, therefore, I shall venture to rank the historical value of this pre-Markan portrait very high indeed. Whether we can or cannot depend on S for the exact words of Jesus' teaching, an impartial critical valuation should place its testimony higher than even that of Mark, at least for a judgment of the spirit of Jesus, and it is the spirit rather than the letter that counts.

(2) I will pass over the scenes of the preaching of John, the baptism, and temptation in the wilderness, in which, as we have seen, Mark falls back upon S, only pointing out how it is only the externals which appeal to the Roman Evangelist, so that he omits the Baptist's exhortation to repentance, and even the content of the temptations, restricting himself to the statement of Jesus' encounter with Satan, and that angels ministered to him. We can use better as our second example of superiority in the Second Source,

the great Q section on the works of the Christ and the stumbling of Israel, from which, as we saw, Mark draws much of his delineation of the Baptist.

The preliminary narrative told how the rumor of Jesus' mighty works came to the ears of John (not of Herod as in Mk. 6: 14), who sent messengers to ask, "Art thou he that should come?" This setting served to introduce a long discourse on the stumbling of Israel, deaf to the summons of God through these two messengers, and blind to the meaning of the signs. Mark rests upon the material for his own group of anecdotes depicting the opposition of the scribes and Pharisees and culminating in the conspiracy of the Pharisees with the Herodians against Jesus' life (Mk. 2: 1–3: 6). As we have seen, Mark transfers elsewhere the paragraph on the blasphemy of the scribes (Mt. 12: 22 ff. = Lk. 11: 14 ff.) together with the Pharisees' demand for a sign (cf. Mk. 3: 22–30; 8: 11 ff.). The remainder, containing Jesus' defense by appeal to the mighty works, is handled in characteristically Markan fashion in the group beginning with the cleansing of the leper (Mk. 1: 40–45; cf. "the lepers are cleansed" in the Q logion), and continued in the making the lame to walk (Mk. 2: 1–12; cf. "the lame walk") and declaring forgiveness (cf. "the poor have glad tidings proclaimed to them"). It concludes with Jesus' association with publicans and sinners, and his

disregard of the fasts (2: 13–20; cf. "a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners"). It will be noticed that the disciples of John appear in Mark just as in the Source, only that in Mk. 2: 18 ff. they are merely grouped with the Pharisees as devotees of the ascetic life. The two anecdotes of controversy with the Pharisees about Sabbath observance, which Mark appends to the group (led by the mental association "fasts and sabbaths"), are taken from some other connection.

Here, then, in Mk. 1: 40–2: 22, is our parallel to the Q section on the stumbling of Israel. Mark and the Source are both dealing with the witness of the mighty works, to which Jesus appeals against the opposition of the scribes. How is the subject treated on each side?

I will divide this comparison into two parts, so that we may see, first, how differently Mark represents Jesus' relation to John the Baptist, and second, how differently he conceives Jesus' appeal to the mighty works. On the first point our third Evangelist has something to say. Luke may not be so near the sources of historical tradition as either Mark or the Second Source, but we shall find, I think, that his support of the Second Source as against Mark, in the valuation of John's work, is in accord with what every modern critic would approve. On the second point, Jesus' attitude toward the mighty works, we

shall find the teaching of Paul highly instructive. If Paul's doctrine of the witness of the Spirit can be traced in any degree to the teaching of Jesus, this is of utmost importance. To me it seems that the testimony of the Second Source gives clear assurance that such is the real origin of Paul's greatest theme.

It can be proved on philological grounds that Mark's representation of John the Baptist's coming in fulfilment of the prophecy of Malachi:

> Behold I send my messenger before thy face,
> Who shall prepare a way for thee,

rests upon the discourse of Jesus reported in the Q material. In the discourse on the stumbling of Israel, Jesus quotes this prophecy, applying it to John the Baptist. He quotes it freely, in a rendering independent of the Septuagint, without naming the source, and of course not in the sense Mark has given it, which makes the "way for the Lord" mean the way for Jesus. The discourse reflects the true sense of the original, that the Angel of the Covenant will go before Jehovah as in the days of the deliverance out of Egypt. Malachi predicts a purification of the people before the great day of Jehovah, and declares that Jehovah will send that unsparing messenger described in Ex. 23: 20 f., who will refine them and purify them as by fire. Jesus recalls this

warning and says the appearance of the Baptist with his message of repentance in view of judgment to come is a fulfilment of it. That is one of those characteristic and splendid applications of Scripture which meet us again and again in the teaching of Jesus.

Now let us see how Mark has handled it. In the first place, he repeats the quotation in the exact language of Q, though in all the rest of his seventy-odd employments of the Old Testament he follows the Septuagint. Next he connects it with another quotation from the Septuagint of Is. 40: 3 about preparing the Lord's way, in which he seems to think "the wilderness" is the place where the voice is uttered, instead of the place through which the highway is to be cast up, as he would have seen from the Hebrew. Next he ascribes both prophecies to "Isaiah," as of course he would not have done if he had known where Jesus found the Malachi passage. These features show that Mark borrows his quotation, at least the part from Malachi. Finally, he ignores the splendid significance of Jesus' application, John as Jehovah's messenger of warning to Israel, and transforms him into a mere forerunner of Christ. In short, Mark tells nothing whatever of the reformatory movement of the Baptist, which meant so much to Jesus, and gives as the only item of John's preaching worthy of record that he pointed to Jesus as the

Greater than himself who would come after him, supplementing the baptism of water in token of repentance with a baptism of the Spirit, as at Pentecost. We have to turn to the Q material to find that, in the Second Source, John was warning the people that if they neglected his baptism of water unto repentance, there would come soon an unsparing baptism of fire, a judgment which would gather God's wheat into His garner, but hopelessly burn up the chaff. This also is from Malachi. John and Jesus both revert to Malachi in their warning of the great day of Judgment.

Mark certainly borrows his Malachi quotation from S. We could not account otherwise for the variations from the Septuagint coincident with Q nor for the false ascription to Isaiah. This dependence is confirmed by other lingustic peculiarities of his context which are pointed out in my *Beginnings of Gospel Story*, but which I cannot here pause to define. Observing the certainty of this dependence, let us pass on to note just what we should get from Mark alone regarding the Baptist's movement as related to the work of Jesus, and see how this compares with Jesus' own words as reported in the Second Source.

From Mark alone, one would simply learn that Jesus was baptized by John, and that thus a prophecy was fulfilled that Elijah would come again to anoint the Christ and make him known both to himself and

all Israel. John the Baptist was Elijah that should come. His habitat, his clothing, his diet, and ultimately his fate, compassed by the plotting of a second Jezebel, all confirm this. When Jesus was baptized by him he was "anointed" with the Holy Spirit, and made known. In this sense Mark interprets the vision of Jesus' vocation. That is all he tells of the man whom Jesus called the greatest born of woman.

Mark's Elias-John has become an accepted figure in our gospel teaching. But you may not have noticed that much of it is tacitly rejected, and some of it flatly contradicted, by Luke and John. Luke admits that John did come "in the spirit and power of Elijah." But our fourth Evangelist makes the Baptist himself peremptorily repudiate this identification. You may fail to recognize the "scriptures" on which the coming and fate of Elijah are predicted in Mark's conception, because we only know these later elaborations of the theme of Elias Redivivus in current Jewish belief from uncanonical sources, such as the *Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo, which describe Elias's miracles and martyrdom at the hands of the tyrant, much as in Rev. 11: 3–13. We know them also from Talmudic traditions, which have much to tell about the restoration of the tribes effected by Elias in preparation for the redemption of Messiah. Ecclesiasticus also tells of his averting

the wrath from Israel and effecting a reconciliation of the Father to the wayward son. Finally, the Jew Trypho, in the *Dialogue* with the Christian Justin, refuses to believe that Jesus is the Christ on exactly the ground which Mark here meets. These are Trypho's words:

> Messiah, if he has indeed been born and exists anywhere, is unknown. He does not even know himself (as such) and has no power until Elias comes to anoint him and make him manifest to all.

Mark is so intent on removing this Jewish objection, and proving that John the Baptist was Elijah and did anoint the Christ and make him known, that he tells nothing at all of John's work as a national reformer. He only allows us to see incidentally from Jesus' reply to the messengers of the Sanhedrin who demand his authority for the purification of the temple, that Jesus coupled his own work with John's. In point of fact, this same purification of Jehovah's house is the central feature in Malachi's program of reformation. It is not strange that Jesus should reply to the challenge for his authority with the counter-question: "The baptism of John, was that from heaven, or of men?" His opponents were silent because they dared not deny that the same principle applied to Jesus' calling as to John's.

Now turn to the Second Source. Here we learn what it would be impossible to gather from Mark—

that Jesus regarded his own movement as a continuation of John's. The stumbling of Israel at Jehovah's summons was a wilful blindness; for the repentance of the publicans and sinners in response to John's warning had been a sign from heaven. The Pharisees did not even repent themselves afterward when they saw it. John had preached a new way of justification beyond the Law and the Prophets. The publicans and sinners believed him; the Pharisees would not. Israel was like petulant children playing in the market-place. Nothing satisfies them. If their companions propose to play funeral, they will have none of it. Wedding festivities? It suits them no better. John came warning of judgment to come. The people complained: He is an ascetic, a hermit in the wilderness, neither eating bread nor drinking wine. "He hath a devil." Jesus comes among the abodes of men. He brings glad tidings of forgiveness to the penitent. He rejoices among the lost sheep returned. Israel will have no more of the wedding song than of the funeral dirge. "This man a prophet?" they say. "He is a glutton and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners." So Jesus makes his own work a continuation of John's. It is not hard to guess where Mark got his description of John's garb and diet and habitat when we know that he used the discourse on the stumbling of Israel, in which Jesus says:

What went ye forth *into the wilderness* to behold?
A man *clothed in soft raiment?*
John came neither eating bread nor drinking wine.
This is he of whom it is written:
Behold I send my messenger before thy face
Who shall prepare a way for thy coming.

To Mark, the messenger was Elijah; and Jesus, the "Lord" for whose coming John prepared a way. The Book of the Kings told what raiment Elijah wore. The servants of Ahaziah reported, "He was a man with a garment of hair, with a girdle of leather about his loins." Surely if he ate only wilderness fare, it must have been what the desert affords, locusts and wild honey. So the apologist Mark could reason from the Q discourse. But from the historian's point of view, it is of more value to learn from the Second Source something of Jesus' own feeling regarding the baptism of John. It shows us that to Jesus this reformatory movement to which he had dedicated himself was indeed "from heaven." Indeed, it was the great "sign of the times." To Jesus, John was "greater than a prophet," greater than any born of women hitherto, because he stood at the threshold of the kingdom of God, opening into it the door of repentance. According to S, Jesus did not submit to this baptism of John as a meaningless ritual "to fulfil all righteousness," but as a consecration to the cause of God's coming kingdom. Therefore he

couples John's work with his own, denouncing the evil and adulterous generation which is now demanding a sign, because it has had already signs far beyond those that were given to Nineveh in the days of Jonah, or to the Queen of the South in the days of Solomon. The Ninevites repented in sackcloth and ashes at the mere word of the stranger-prophet proclaiming, "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed." The message of John was "a greater matter than Jonah" (πλεῖον Ἰωνᾶ); but Israel turned a deaf ear to the messenger. Jesus' own glad tidings of forgiveness were "a greater matter than Solomon" (πλεῖον Σολομῶντος); but Israel was blind to the mighty works by which God himself had set his stamp of approval on the message.

Mark is quite oblivious of any part the Baptist might have had in bringing about the great repentance. The fourth Evangelist goes further still in the direction of depriving John of any significance in his own right, declaring his baptism to have had no purpose whatever but merely to point out the Greater than himself sent to baptize with the Holy Ghost. But this is mere effort to counteract the rival claims of the later followers of John, who continued long after, notably at Ephesus, to maintain that their master had been superior to Jesus, who only took up and completed the work of the great reformer. Indeed, a remnant of the disciples of John exists to this

day under the name of Mandæans on the shores of the Persian Gulf.

Impartial historical critics will easily recognize that the witness of the Second Source, with its generous tribute to the great forerunner, should be preferred to Mark's. True, it has no support outside this Source save a comparatively late document known only to Luke. As you remember, the opening story of Luke couples together the birth stories of Jesus and John in the same manner as the Second Source connects their later ministries. In reality, it is no disparagement to Jesus to acknowledge the greatness of the man whom he revered. On the contrary, it is not only like him to give John full credit, up to, perhaps even beyond, his due, it is also an invaluable key to Jesus' conception of his own mission, the work to which he felt himself to have been consecrated in the baptism of John, and on which he entered after Herod had shut up John in prison. Use, then, to the full this light from the Second Source on Jesus' relation to the great reformatory movement of John, and many things which in Mark are left obscure come to their full significance. We not only understand why Jesus' work begins when and as it does in Galilee, continuing that of John; we understand also why the people think of him as John returned from the dead, and why the Pharisees obtain the support of Herod in their effort to drive

him out. We understand why Jesus neither ceases his activity in exile, nor seeks a safer field, but sets his face like flint to go to Jerusalem, and in defiance of a martyr's doom prepares to deliver his message to all Israel assembled at the Passover. We understand why he makes judgment to begin at the house of God, restoring the place of prayer from the mercenary uses to which it had been degraded by a worldly-minded priesthood, and making it from a den of robbers into a house of prayer for all the nations. If, in submitting to the baptism of John, Jesus really consecrated himself to the completion of John's work, he could not turn aside from this path. Preparation of a people "ready for the coming of Jehovah" must have such a goal as this, even as it was written in the prophecy of the messenger:

> He shall prepare the way before me,
> And Jehovah whom ye seek shall suddenly come to His temple.

There could be no reconciliation of the people of God until they purified His house. Therefore Jesus speaks of this work and its perhaps fatal outcome as the fulfilment of his baptism, a baptism of blood he must be baptized with. When it is done, and the inwardly furious priests demand his authority, he cites the divine authority of John. And when they have had their way and nailed him to the cross, the rite by which his followers, rallying to the cause their

cowardice had betrayed, make a new dedication of themselves, even to sharing his death, is the Johannine rite of baptism.

Is there any significance in the fact that to Paul baptism is not a mere token of repentance and forgiveness of sin, but a participation in the death and burial of Jesus, from which men rise endowed with his Spirit to live "not unto themselves, but unto him who for their sakes died and rose again?" Whence comes this strange new significance of baptism as an act of self-dedication, by death as well as life, into the service of the risen Christ? How is it that Christians feel themselves united by it into a new Israel, so that now, like as their fathers were baptized in the Red Sea unto Moses, and, coming forth, passed under the cloud of God's presence, so they, coming forth from the cleansing waters, endowed with the Spirit that had animated Jesus, were a new people of God, on the march toward His dwelling-place and kingdom? Why is baptism to this day the token of our participation in this fellowship of the Spirit, if not that it had to Jesus something of the same significance which it had to Paul, and still has to us, a consecration even unto death.

Whether Jesus ever gave ground in any historical utterance for Mark's identification of John with the Elias of Jewish legend may well be doubted. Our Ephesian Evangelist rejects the idea outright. But

Jesus' reverential faith in the divine calling of John, Jesus' whole-hearted self-dedication in the baptism he received to complete the mission of God's messenger, is an invaluable key to his whole career, a key too precious by far to be thrown away because early rivalries between the disciples of one master or the other have led our later Evangelists to explain away the decisive hour of Jesus' life, as though he took upon himself the baptism of John as a mere outward form. Even John did not ask his converts to be baptized merely "to fulfill all righteousness," and to Jesus the rite meant more than it had ever done to its author. There is a sense in which the ancient saying is true: "He submitted to baptism in order that he might purify water." Jesus did infuse his own spirit of self-dedication into the rite, making it even then a baptism "not of water only, but of the Spirit." In this sense the new and larger meaning it obtained after Calvary is due to Jesus himself. Nevertheless, the adoption of the rite for initiation into the fellowship of the new Israel, the people prepared for the Coming, remains a perpetual memorial to Jesus' reverence for the divine mission of John.

(3) I have but one more instance to cite of the superior historical value of the Second Source, this time fully corroborated by Paul. As you know, Paul has no mention of John, and what he says of baptism refers of course, only to the Christian rite. But he

has much to say, in common with all his Christian contemporaries, about the witness of the Spirit. For to all alike, this is the one great proof of divine adoption. Whether it be the Church as a whole which aims to prove that it, rather than the unbelieving Jews, is the true Israel of God or individuals whose right to be members of the new community is questioned, always the primitive appeal is to the witness of the Spirit. "This only would I know, received ye the Spirit." "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of his"; "Ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be my witnesses";

> The Spirit and the gifts are ours
> Through him who with us sideth.

There is, however, a great difference. To Paul, the supreme witness of the Spirit is inward and moral. Others appealed to the tongues, the healings, the revelations, the mighty works. Paul does not deny these; he even claims them for himself in larger measure than others; but to him they have no value except as they are rooted in the transcendent quality of love, the dominant feature in the character of Jesus as Paul understood it, the all-inclusive characteristic of the Spirit. Paul does not even expect the tongues, prophecies, miracles, and other spectacular "gifts," in which others delighted, to last.

He regards them as having a temporary purpose. They are "a sign to unbelievers." Even this proof will not be effective unless they are kept in strict subordination to moral and spiritual ends. And he expects that with the accomplishment of this temporary purpose these external "gifts" will cease. "Tongues" will be hushed, prophecies and miracles will cease, in order that in the higher order of things the "abiding," moral gifts of faith, hope, and love may remain. Even of these ultimate three, faith will be lost in sight, hope in full fruition. When that which is perfect is come, love alone will abide.

Exorcism of evil spirits, which played a very great part in the healing ministry of the early Church, Paul does not mention at all. In his case and that of his great successor at Ephesus, the fourth Evangelist, the only exorcism with which Christians are concerned is the wrestling against the principalities and powers of darkness in the heavenly places, who must be dispossessed by the victory of Christ and his Church. The Spirit which triumphed in the cross over sin and death will win this victory too in the end. Then the Prince of this World will be cast out. The lifting up of Jesus on the cross will rally to this standard all the forces of righteousness which are in the world.

No one will deny the grandeur of Paul's sublimation of the common doctrine of exorcism. All will

admit that it reveals a larger and more truly religious (as well as more rational) conception than that which pervades synoptic tradition of Jesus as the great Exorciser. But where does Paul get it? Did the appeal of Jesus to the mighty works have the external character of Markan story? Was Jesus' conception of demon-possession free from popular superstition, as in the more cultured medical writers of Greek literature? Or was it somewhere between Greek and Jew, free from superstition, but not because of scientific knowledge, superior because of an innate sense of religious and moral values? Light from the Second Source on such questions as these will be welcome indeed.

The epithet "wonder-loving" has been applied to Mark because of the predominance in his Gospel of stories of miracle. He has indeed but a single miracle in Jerusalem, the cursing of the fig-tree, and that obviously symbolical in sense, apparently an adaptation of the parable of the barren fig-tree which supersedes it in Luke. He has only a pair of miracles, the casting out of a dumb devil and the opening of blind eyes, enclosing the Gentile ministry, much as he encloses the Decapolis ministry between two symbolic miracles of the same type, drawn seemingly from the Q discourse in which Jesus had pointed to the fulfilment of Isaian prophecy about the deaf hearing and the blind seeing. The rest of the mira-

cles of Mark belong to the Galilean ministry, except the incident of the Syrophenician. It must be admitted that in proportion to the teaching element, miracles occupy in Mark a disproportionate space, and that among them, exorcism is specially conspicuous. But is not this really true to ancient Petrine tradition? Do not the Petrine discourses of Acts show the same character? Is it not their representation that God anointed Jesus with the Holy Ghost and power, so that he went about doing good, healing all that were "oppressed" (καταδυναστευομένους) of the devil, because God was with him? We cannot reasonably charge Mark with more than reflection of the popular taste of average Christianity, perhaps especially that of the Jews of whose disposition to "seek after a sign" Paul complains. He may be open to such blame as Paul puts upon the Corinthians for preferring the spectacular gifts of the Spirit. But modern critics will no longer regard it as evidence of remoteness from the facts that his narrative abounds with wonder tales of faith-healing and command over evil spirits.

As regards the mere occurrence of the phenomena, Mark does not greatly differ from S. The real difference lies in his representation of Jesus' attitude toward them. Does Jesus to some extent violate his own principle that the quest of signs belongs to "an evil and adulterous generation," that men must not

"tempt" Jehovah by calling for miraculous intervention, but go on in obedient trust and submission to His will? Does he demand recognition for signs which God gives in the world of nature and providence about us, and rebuke as impious and faithless the craving for marvels of one's own choosing? One can hardly admit all the miracles related by Mark and acquit Jesus of catering to this morbid craving. What is the witness of Q on this point?

According to S, the signs which accompany Jesus' work are God's confirmation of the proclamation. Jesus preaches that the time of the consolation of Israel is come. The captive is to be released, the nation in exile and poverty is to hear glad tidings of peace and reconciliation with Jehovah. Its life is to be restored. The deaf ears are to be unstopped. The blind eyes are to be opened. Israel is to be Jehovah's witness to the nations, His Servant. As Jesus proclaims his message, God confirms it with an outstretched hand. Divine power is "with him" to heal. Lepers are cleansed. The lame walk. The deaf hear. Those whom "Satan had bound" go forth from their prison. Jesus does not argue from this that *he* has divine power in his own right. On the contrary, even in a Markan anecdote he recalls a woman ready to go away under the delusion of relic-healing to say, "Thy faith (not a holy coat) has healed thee." In Q he warns the Baptist against

the folly of the multitude who fasten their eyes on the messenger and ignore the message, bidding John see what God is doing and not be stumbled in God's agent. He answers the malignant charge of the scribes: "If your calumny had been directed against me, it could have been forgiven. But the casting out is not mine. It is the finger of God. As it is written in Isaiah:

> Shall the prey be taken from the mighty,
> Or the lawful captives be delivered?
> But thus saith Jehovah,
> Even the captives of the mighty shall be taken away,
> And the prey of the terrible shall be delivered;
> For I will contend with him that contendeth with thee,
> And I will save thy children.
> And all flesh shall know that I Jehovah am thy Savior,
> And thy Redeemer the Mighty One of Jacob.

In this "deliverance of the captives," Jehovah's might is shown, and the coming destruction of Satan's kingdom. That is Jesus' argument in the parable of the strong man keeping his house until despoiled by the stronger than he. Its whole point lies in the distinction that the power to heal is not his own but God's.

A Pharisee protests at the presumption of this "prophet" in not only associating with sinners, but declaring their sins forgiven. Jesus was reclining at the Pharisee's table in the court before the house,

open to the street. Slipping through the crowd, there came a harlot to his very couch. Jesus' message of mercy had struck home. Her tears of penitent love fell on his bared feet. Hastily with her braided hair she wiped away their defiling touch. The pitiful appeal of moral weakness drew from Jesus a direct application of his message: "Daughter, thy sins are forgiven." The Pharisee was appalled. This man a prophet! Clearly he knew not who and what manner of woman this was. Jesus justified his word of absolution with the parable of the two debtors. How can man declare in a given case that sin has been forgiven? Only as he witnesses the work of God. But penitent love is the effect of God's own Spirit. "Therefore I say unto thee, her sins, many as they may be, are forgiven. For she hath shown great love. But to whomsoever little is forgiven, the same loveth little."

Once more human and divine authority are contrasted. Jesus justifies his own glad tidings of forgiveness on the same ground on which he condemns the aloofness of the Pharisees. They saw the work of God in the "turning again of the publicans and sinners," a true baptism from heaven, a sign of the dawning of the kingdom, "and they did not even repent themselves afterwards." They saw blinded eyes lifted to the light of heaven, streaming with tears of gratitude, and instead of seeing God at work, they

murmured. Their grudging ill-will left their whole body full of darkness. Jesus sees God at work in the penitence of sinners as truly as in the healing of sick men and the freeing of Satan's captives. This is his "authority." This is his "power." Such is the witness of the mighty works in S.

Mark also has his opposition of the scribes and Pharisees, his calumny of the exorcisms, his murmuring at Jesus' association with publicans and sinners, and at his genial life in contrast with the asceticism of the disciples of John and the Pharisees. In particular, Mark has also his vindication of Jesus' declaration of the forgiveness of sins. But here it is not the power of God working *with* Jesus. Mark does not appeal to the signs of the times which God is offering to blind religious leaders, but to Jesus' *own* power. In Mark's view, Jesus forgives sin in his own right because he is Son of Man (the heavenly Judge) on earth. The lame man made to walk has given no token of penitence. By his own choice Jesus offers him forgiveness of sin, and proves that he could offer healing or forgiveness at will by exercising the authority he possesses while on earth. He drives out demons by the same sovereign power. Nothing is said by Mark of the finger (or Spirit) of God delivering Satan's captives. The natural inference from Mark, the inference uniformly drawn to this day by the commentators, is that Jesus is

speaking of himself as the Redeemer stronger than the strong man armed! The rebuke of the slander of the scribes in Mark ignores the distinction of S between words spoken against the messenger and words spoken against God. Mark tells us that the terrible condemnation was uttered because the scribes accused *Jesus* of having an unclean spirit. But in S, the casting out of the giant was God's own intervention to break the yoke of Satan. The blasphemy was not spoken against a mere human healer. It was against the redeeming Spirit of God.

There is no small distinction here between Mark's conception of Jesus as the great Exorciser, heavenly Judge on earth, with power to set aside the law, dispensing pardon as he wills, and the S conception of a prophet who reads the signs God gives, who has an open eye and ear to spiritual things, a Son who sees the work of his Father, and works unceasingly with that beneficent heavenly will. The conception of S is identical with that of the greater prophets of the Old Testament. I have said that this latter view comes very close to Paul's doctrine of the Spirit. This is just the distinction that Paul makes between the morbid Jewish craving for "signs," and wholesome recognition of the God-given signs of inward moral power, new birth, new life, moral transformation through the power of God, as it worked in Jesus.

Was Paul the originator of this doctrine of life in the Spirit? Or shall we accept the witness of the Second Source in confirmation of that of Paul himself, that this was the teaching of Jesus?

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VI

WHAT JESUS REALLY DID

AT the close of our last chapter I pointed out that it is possible for the historical critic, with the aid of Paul and the Second Source, to go behind Mark's somewhat external view and reach a more adequate and historical appreciation of Jesus' ministry. Critics have long felt driven to apply this method to such sections as the cursing of the fig-tree. This story is employed by Mark as a symbolic miracle performed at Jesus' entry into Jerusalem at Passover, although (as the Evangelist himself remarks) that "was not the season of figs." The lesson drawn in Mark, as that Gospel comes to us, inculcates unfaltering faith, by which proverbially trees might be rooted up and planted in the sea. But at some earlier stage the story must have been placed at this point to convey symbolically the same lesson which Luke gives it in the form of a parable. Jerusalem is the barren tree, whose respite is short. The Lord of the vineyard comes to it seeking the fruits of repentance. If none appear, it is to be hewn down and destroyed. Mark's translation of parable into fact is so manifest

that even interpreters elsewhere blind to Mark's pragmatism feel obliged to recognize it here.

The instance is characteristic. Our own comparison just made of Mark's representation of Jesus as exorciser and healer, over against Paul and the Second Source, confirms this view. Mark's story of the Galilean ministry is largely made up of examples of wonder working. In fact, outside of Galilee, there are none but symbolic miracles, an exorcism in Decapolis, another in Phenicia, the unstopping of deaf ears and opening of blind eyes enclosing the Gentile and the Peræan ministry respectively; all the rest belong to the Galilean mighty works, to which we have given sufficient attention in comparing S. Healings and exorcisms were an undoubted and a spectacular feature of Jesus' ministry, and it is really more surprising that Paul should make no mention of the fact than that the ancient Petrine tradition should be so largely concerned with it.

But after all, Jesus' ministry in Galilee was primarily that of a prophet and teacher. Even Mark admits that he purposely withdrew from thaumaturgy, subordinating healings to his mission of proclaiming the advent of the kingdom. Mark himself frequently refers to his teaching, though he has but one description of its content. Mark tells how Jesus was saluted as Rabbi, and he mentions the long, tasseled, teacher's robe he wore, on which the thronging multitude

sought to lay hold. But it was not Mark's purpose to give the teaching except in the two instances where it bore on his own purpose, (1) the parables of the kingdom, which he construes as a preaching of judgment on the faithless generation, and (2) the doom of Jerusalem, a prediction of the fate of the city which blends authentic words of Jesus with the "prophecy" of some Christian contemporary of the event. Outside these two discourses, Mark makes no attempt to define what he means by "the gospel" Jesus proclaimed. He simply assumes its identity with that which was taught in his own time to every disciple. The deficiency of Mark on this side has always been recognized. It compels us to fall back upon that Source which naturally embodies the message in discourses cast in the form of the Stoic "diatribe," or resort to the Hellenistic Gospel which uses the more ambitious rhetorical form of the "dialogue," because it interprets Jesus' mission as an incarnation of the redemptive Wisdom of God. S gives us a series of popular harangues, introduced, like the discourses of Peter in Acts, by brief accounts of the scene out of which the discourse arises.

I

The problem, what Jesus really said, rests on the witness of the great S discourses on the higher

righteousness, abiding wealth, or the true goal of life, the closing door of repentance, prayer, and what the kingdom of God is like. In Chapter Seven I shall present what little our space permits of this teaching of Jesus. But one of these discourses, that on the mystery of the kingdom, Mark has incorporated almost complete, because it was a necessary part of his story of the mission of the Twelve. They and their associates are, to Mark, Jesus' true kindred, to whom the mystery of the kingdom is committed. The Jewish world stands "outside," blind and deaf to the true meaning of the revelation. Our conception of what Jesus did will call for some consideration of this discourse.

Mark is here following S, as most critics admit, but he has adapted the original group of four parables of the kingdom to his own purpose, omitting one (the Leaven) and changing the order to bring out more clearly what he regards as the anti-Jewish apologetic of the group. We have already covered virtually all else in Mark's story of the Galilean ministry; but a study of Jesus' purpose will not be complete without an attempt to determine by comparison with the Q material the original design and bearing of the discourse which Mark adduces as a revelation of the "mystery of the kingdom of God."

The group of parables of the kingdom will fall into two pairs, according to a method which appears

characteristic of Jesus, if we supply from Q the omitted parable of the leaven. All four comparisons have a common object, to confirm the "glad tidings" of the coming kingdom as a power of God already silently at work. The parables of the mustard-seed and the leaven present this affirmatively, those of the patient husbandman and of the sower meet the two objections most apt to arise, delay in the expected intervention of God, and indifference on the part of the people. As evidence that the material, although all Markan save the brief parable of the leaven, comes all from the same mind, perhaps even originally from the same record, let me remind you of what we found characteristic of the teaching of Jesus regarding the true signs of the times and the operation of the Spirit of God. From Paul and the Second Source, we found it distinctive of Jesus to look on the inward side of things, tracing the hand of God in things spiritual and eternal rather than things outward and spectacular. Note, then, how in this group of parables of the kingdom the chief lesson is the present, inward working of God's Spirit, unseen by dull or hostile eyes, a kingdom of God which is already in the midst, silent, omnipotent, overtaking unawares those whose spiritual eyes are closed. It is the lesson taught to Elijah on Horeb, that Jehovah is not in the whirlwind, the earthquake, or the fire, but in the sound of gentle stillness. Not by might

nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.

Such an idea of the kingdom as an omnipotent power already silently at work is not that of current Jewish conceptions. It is utterly different from the Son-of-David ideal, familiar from the prophets, or from messianic Psalms such as the seventy-second. It is no nearer to that of the later, apocalyptic writers, such as Daniel and Enoch, whose pages glow with the lurid light of supernatural intervention. Conflicts of angels and monsters in heaven, a Son of Man brought on the clouds to receive the eternal kingdom, stones hewn out without hands from the mountain-side crushing to pieces the kingdoms of the earth, these figures have little to do with those of the mustard-seed, the leaven in the dough, the sower, the patient husbandman. To the crowds that listened to the prophet of Galilee, the message must have sounded strangely new. It was indeed almost like a "revelation of the mystery of the kingdom of God" when Jesus began to say:

Whereunto shall I liken the sovereignty of God?
Or with what comparison shall I liken it?
It is like a grain of mustard-seed for insignificance in men's eyes.
Yet by a hidden, superhuman power, it becomes a great tree,
And the birds of heaven take shelter in its branches.

Again he said:

The kingdom of God is like leaven hid in the dough.
Unseen, unheard, the whole mass is transformed.

Again he answered those who said, "Where is the promise of the Coming?"

Not till the harvest is ripe does the husbandman send forth the reapers.
Patiently he waits for the early and the latter rain.
Because he knows the working of God, he rests in hope.
He sleeps and rises, and goes about his tasks,
Knowing that the earth bringeth forth, without his aid,
First the blade, then the ear, at last the full kernel in the ear.
Then only doth he send forth the sickle, because the harvest is come.

Last of all he answered the discouragement of those who said: "The message is thrown away, men disregard it":

The sower is not disheartened because much of his seed is lost.
Some is scattered on the beaten path, some among stones,
Birds and sun and thorns take their share.
Nevertheless, his precious store suffices.
He goeth forth with tears scattering the hoarded treasure.
Yet he cometh again with rejoicing, bringing the sheaves with him.
Such is the hope of the kingdom from those that have ears to hear.
They bring forth fruit, some thirty, some sixty, some a hundredfold.

I have arranged the double pair of parables in this order because the introductory words, and even the appended interpretation of Mark, following what in his arrangement is the first parable, but which implies (4: 13) that "all" have been uttered, prove this to have been the original sequence. Thus arranged, they show with wonderful clarity Jesus' conception of how God and man coöperate in bringing His kingdom to pass. At that time the idea was new. It differs strikingly from anything you can find in prophecy or apocalypse. It differs profoundly from the message of John. Indeed it is quite unparalleled save for those deeper insights of Paul and the Second Source of which we have spoken, those utterances about a kingdom "within you" and "among you," a kingdom which is not a messianic banquet of eating and drinking, but "righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." Jesus' doctrine of the kingdom was new, distinctive, different. But it was not obscure. It was not hidden. It did not even contradict the old. It only glorified and transfigured it with the touch of One who could see God at work. It was a teaching for the simplest of hearers by the greatest religious Teacher that ever lived.

I must put off consideration of the other great discourses, vital as their bearing is on Jesus' own character and motives, because Mark passes them by;

and after all, Mark is right. Jesus was much more than rabbi or prophet. We must come to the turning-point of Mark's story, the account of what Jesus *did* after he had resolutely put behind him at Cæsarea Philippi the Galilean days of preaching and healing. For Mark rightly makes the climax of his Gospel the account of how Jesus set his face like a flint to go up to Jerusalem, expecting the fate of the messengers of God who had preceded him.

II

From the earliest times men have asked why Jesus did this. There were fields in abundance outside Israel's domain already white for the harvest. Why should he throw away his life in a vain appeal to Jerusalem, notorious murderess of the prophets, blood-stained from the stoning of generations of God's messengers? Why persist in urging Judea to repentance when already his own Galilee had driven him out? Our fourth Evangelist thinks it needful to solve this problem, and therefore introduces a new scene in place of the agony in Gethsemane; for the agony seemed to bear witness of Jesus' having repented his rashness when it was too late. Instead of the agony, we find in John an account of certain Greeks who at the critical moment make the appeal of the Gentile world to Jesus through Philip and

Andrew, the two Apostles who bear Greek names. Jesus replies that he must be lifted up on the cross. Thus he will draw all men unto him. This is the answer Paul had given. The cross is the destroyer of the enmity. The cross breaks down the middle wall of partition between Jew and Gentile, because it marks the end of the Law. But Paul reasons from results to causes. His reasoning is religious rather than historical. This effect of the cross may have been in God's mind, but it certainly was not in Jesus' mind. He did not go up to Jerusalem in order to be crucified, however ready, if need be, to meet crucifixion. We cannot set aside the scene of Gethsemane, most humanly appealing of any in the Gospels; and we should have to do this if Jesus *intended* the outcome which he more and more clearly foresaw. For unless he went to meet this fate under some moral necessity, how could he pray in agony, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me"?

Mark has the same propensity as John to assume that Jesus must have intended all that actually came to pass. Hence he not only reports the warning Jesus gave his followers (as in duty bound) of the new perils that would surround the path he was now choosing, but turns the language into a clear and definite prediction of the tragic events as they actually transpired. If one insists on details this too must be counted unhistorical. The disciples' conduct

would be inexplicably base and cowardly if all had been told them in advance. Beginning with Mark, we must pronounce our synoptic Evangelists also more intent on religion than on critical history. Their apologetic demands that Jesus should have foreseen all, deliberately choosing his fate. Paul, contrariwise, declares frankly and explicitly that Jesus could not avoid it. He "was crucified through weakness." He did not have his own way. He submitted to God's way. That, as Paul sees it, was the essence of Jesus' obedient faith. Like Paul's own, Jesus' prayer for deliverance brought this answer only: "My grace is sufficient for thee, for my strength is made perfect in weakness." Mark and the later Evangelists find it hard to admit that Jesus did not know all and predict all in advance. Any kind of "weakness" in Jesus was a thought intolerable to them.

In a general way, it is true that Jesus did foresee the fate awaiting him in Jerusalem. He would have lacked common sense if he did not. S guarantees the fact with its poetic quotation from "the wisdom of God" (that is, "the inspired writings of the sages") concerning Jerusalem's treatment of the prophets. Jesus' resolution was taken in spite of the warning, as Paul twenty-five years later took a similar resolution against prophetic warnings "in every city." It was at the clear call of duty that he faced the summons

with the ironic saying, "It cannot be that a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem." But in meeting it, Jesus showed a wisdom and foresight worthy both of himself and of the mission which he meant to fulfil. The best proof that his plans were laid to succeed without the dire catastrophe is that they so nearly did succeed, in spite of the odds against him. He planned to win Israel to his support, while avoiding a fatal collision with the Sadducean aristocracy and their Roman overlords. He did win it for a time. For days the issue hung in the balance. According to John, the priests themselves declared, "The world is gone after him." When at last the fickle multitude withdrew their support, and the priesthood succeeded in arresting the Prophet of Galilee and delivering him up to Roman executioners, even then it was not by due process of law. As Jesus scornfully said, it was only by treachery and illegal midnight seizure that they compassed their dastardly end. They avoided popular resentment by throwing responsibility on Pilate. But Pilate himself confessed the transparent falsity of the charge of insurrection, and had to be forced into reluctant consent.

Jesus certainly did not tamely acquiesce in the plot of Caiaphas. Much less did he incite the treachery of Judas. That is mere primitive apologetic. He fought the battle through to the bitter end, up to and beyond the desertion of the last of

his faithless followers. He fought it with every device of worthy warfare. But not with mere useless weapons of flesh. He planned wisely and fought bravely for the cause to which he had dedicated himself from the beginning: To bring Israel back into loyal obedience to its national calling as Servant and Witness for Jehovah. When he died on the scaffold, delivered over to a death of shame and torture by the hierocracy, betrayed and deserted by his own followers, abandoned (as it seemed) even by that Father in heaven for whose kingdom's sake he suffered all, he might well say, as still undaunted he committed his parting spirit to that Father's care, "I have finished the work which Thou gavest me to do."

There are moderns as well as ancients who find this story hard to understand. Why, they ask, should Jesus court death by assuming the notoriously dangerous title of Messiah, and use it to appeal to the whole nation assembled at Jerusalem at the Passover? It meant political complications if he succeeded, suicide if he failed.

We ourselves admit that Messiah, "the Christ," is not the title Jesus would voluntarily choose. As commonly understood, it fell far short of describing his real task, and in this sense would involve him both in perplexity and danger. For this reason it is scarcely ever used by him. He authorized it,

but kept it in the background, forbade the mention of it, allowed it to be applied only in a sublimated, religious sense, did his utmost to lift the minds of his disciples first, afterward the mind of the people, to his own higher ideal. And for the time he failed. Why, then, use the title at all? Why trifle with firebrands? What was to be gained for true religion by rousing the uncontrollable spirit of nationalism to dreams of political deliverance?

So little does the nationalistic rôle of Messiah comport with the admitted ideals of Jesus that some of our ablest scholars refuse to admit that he assumed it at all. Jesus himself, they assure us, cannot have put forward any pretensions to national leadership. The title Messiah, Christ, the Anointed of Jehovah, is an afterthought, born in the disciples' minds as a result of their conviction of his resurrection. We should read the story of the confession of Peter at Cæsarea Philippi somewhat as follows: Jesus asked the Twelve, "What are these rumors that I hear circulate about me?" They told him what men reported concerning him. But when he further asked, "And what think you yourselves?" and Peter began to say, "We believe you to be the Christ," Jesus sternly rebuked him, and forbade them to speak of him by this name, warning them that it would be false and fatal. So they said no more of it, but afterward, when they received

word that he was risen from the dead, they returned to their cherished hope. Such is the ultra-critical theory.

The logic of this plea must be inverted. The resurrection faith did not produce conviction of the Messiahship of Jesus. But conviction of a calling to national leadership, instilled by Jesus himself before he took the fatal journey to Jerusalem, made possible both the events which there transpired and the faith which followed. It was belief in Jesus as the Christ of God which secured lodgment in the terrified, despairing minds of the Twelve for a resurrection faith which otherwise would have been rejected as a baseless dream. To go still further back, it is because Jesus' life was dedicated to this national ideal that he went to his fate in Jerusalem. To that extent the vision of the baptismal vocation tells true. It is because Jesus was more than a mere rabbi, like Akiba the martyr, that the Twelve not only followed him up to the final catastrophe, but, after brief collapse, returned to their allegiance.

Not only the acceptance of the resurrection faith without the previous victory of Jesus' own faith over the powers of death would be unaccountable, the passion itself would be unaccountable. No man in Jerusalem was so ignorant as not to know why Jesus was condemned to the fate of an insurrectionist. Pilate posted the accusation above his head con-

spicuously for all to read: THE KING OF THE JEWS. It is true that Jesus refused to admit this charge when arraigned before the governor. But it is equally true that he refused to deny it when denial would have meant release. Pilate would gladly have let him go. But Caiaphas and his fellow-conspirators knew how to apply the needful pressure. Jesus could easily have pointed to his harmless career as a teacher of righteousness, favorable, rather than otherwise, to Cæsar's control. But Jesus *refused* to say he was not, in some sense, the Christ. Pilate was no friend of the priestly conspirators. He saw through the thin mask of their concern for Roman law and order, and was loath to be forced to a judicial murder to further their base schemes. How easy for Jesus, if he really cherished no national aspirations or designs, to frustrate the plot by showing his career to have been that of a rabbi like Hillel or Gamaliel.

But Jesus was *not* merely a teacher. He *did* cherish national aspirations and designs. Like the little company of devotees who after Herod's death sought to purify the temple by tearing down the golden eagle that defiled it as a symbol of heathen control, and who submitted gladly to a martyr fate believing that the sacrifice of their lives for the honor of God gave them assurance of life eternal, Jesus too was a dedicated man. Since his baptism in Jor-

dan he had been consecrated to complete the work of John in bringing Israel back to its divine vocation. Jesus *did* count himself "anointed of God" for this mission. Therefore he refused Pilate the denial and accepted the cross. Therefore also, we may add, with Paul, "God hath highly exalted him, and hath given him the name that is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, and that every tongue might confess that he is LORD, to the glory of God the Father."

III

Just as the candid historical critic must refuse to believe that Jesus was a mere teacher, so must he equally refuse the notion that he was a mere fanatic. Some are so enamored of the wisdom and beauty of his teachings that they forget that it was "the word of the cross" which won the world in the missionary preaching of apostolic times. So there is also a school of criticism, perhaps even yet enjoying its sudden popularity, so enamored of Mark's representation of the prophet of supernatural foresight that they conceive of Jesus as provoking the fate which he suffered in Jerusalem in order to achieve that supernal glory of which he read in Daniel and *Enoch*, a triumph of the heavenly Son of Man. According to this so-called "eschatological" school,

Jesus was almost morbidly infatuated with these apocalyptic dreams. Therefore he aspired to play the rôle of "Son of Man," that supernatural Messiah whom Daniel sees brought on the clouds to the heavenly throne of judgment to receive from the Ancient of Days the everlasting dominion.

When supreme occasion required, Jesus did, we admit, appeal to Daniel also. But a just verdict on his sanity will best be derived from his teachings. If any are disposed to the "eschatological" view, I would ask them to read the chapter of parables of the kingdom, and then defer decision until we have studied together that Source which presents Jesus as the incarnate Wisdom of God, the predicted Servant-Son who brings forth divine judgment to the Gentiles. It will not be the first time that we have found the Second Source a useful check on the sometimes one-sided view of Mark. Meantime, Luke presents in the Passion story itself an account which is not wholly nor even mainly derived from Mark, and is closely related to the Second Source. This too has a bearing on the question. Later we must appeal to it. Meantime, we note that Mark's attention is all taken up with the effort to prove the actual exaltation of Jesus to the right hand of God. We need not wonder, then, if critics who look almost solely at Mark's account of the tragedy take an interpretation which finds little countenance from Paul.

The truth of the matter is that Jesus was not a mere teacher, else he would never have led a national movement or suffered a patriot's death. He was not a mere fanatic, else he would never have won the loyal devotion of a Paul, and, through Paul, of the most thoughtful and religious element of the Greco-Roman world. What he was can be determined by the historian only by the study both of what he said and what he did. The historian will do well to remember that behind our earliest records lies the Jewish-christian nationalistic hope of a restored kingdom of David, while on this side lies the universalism of Paul, the ideal of a Redeemer not for Israel only, but for the world.

Is there, then, any satisfactory key to the great tragedy? Can we adequately explain why Jesus, after the Galilean ministry, assumed the new rôle of Messiah, the national Deliverer, and went up to Jerusalem to face greater perils than he was leaving behind? My conviction is that on this vital question we can get no light so clear or so decisive as that which flows from Jesus' relation to John, as depicted in his own utterances recorded in the Second Source. We can attain no better corrective of the one-sidedness of Mark than to take Mark's own statement of what Jesus did on arrival in Jerusalem, together with Mark's record of the interpretation put by Jesus himself on his action when challenged by the

authorities, and see how these fit in with that larger view of Jesus' relation to the Baptist's work which we obtain from S. I think we shall find that the course which Jesus took was the unavoidable, logical completion of the work to which he had given himself from the beginning, the "baptism which he must accomplish in Jerusalem," the mission to make ready for Jehovah a people prepared by repentance for His coming.

Such, as we have seen, was the mission of John. It is so formulated in the prefatory chapters of Luke (Lk. 1: 17). Jesus regarded the work of John as recalling Israel to its national ideal. It is true that he goes beyond the Baptist. Jesus' message is the "glad tidings" of Isaiah. His figures of speech are drawn from the great prophecy of the consolation of Israel. He looks for the reconciliation of Jehovah to a penitent people, as a husband is reconciled to a wife forsaken for her wrong-doing, but gathered again in tenderness and vindicated before the world after her return to penitent obedience. It was for this work that Jesus summoned the Galilean fishermen from their boats to become fishers of men. For this end he labored with them to turn the cities of Galilee to repentance. With this end in view, he refused to abandon his work after the synagogue leaders had denounced him and conspired with the murderer of John to drive him into exile, but took

it up again on new lines, and on a national scale. To Jesus, the baptism of John was the great sign of the times, not of men, but from heaven. It demanded of such as were sincerely dedicated to the cause the consecration of every resource of life and death. As heroes ere then had "consecrated" themselves, courting death, if thereby Jehovah's name might be sanctified and His kingdom come, so Jesus called on men to lose their lives for the kingdom's sake and the "sanctification of the Name." Israel had been chosen from the beginning as Jehovah's Servant for this end. Therefore Israel must be won back to its loyalty.

We cannot say with certainty when Jesus began fully to realize that there could be no other leader than himself to gather the scattered flock left leaderless by the death of John. But we may be sure that he would not consider that his mission was over when his ministry in Galilee was broken off. If a national appeal was to be made, the coming Passover feast at Jerusalem must be its occasion. No other center was conceivable, no other time appropriate for the raising of this standard, a summons of return to the divine calling of Israel. Judgment must begin at Jehovah's house. And if a leader were to be found for such a return, such a revival of the national life in pursuance of the divine vocation of Israel, by what other name could he be called than Jehovah's Anointed,

he of whom Moses and all the prophets did write? The rallying-cry which might unite that people of God now scattered throughout the world could be no other than this: Messiah, the Christ of God! The goal was primarily national. Therefore this was the inevitable name for him who would lead Israel to it. The name has received new and larger meaning since national lines have been abolished through the cross. But whether the redemption be that of Israel, or of humanity, the name of "Christ of God" belongs of right to him who once for all has rallied the people of God throughout the world to this standard of ancient Jewish prophecy.

On the other hand, Jesus was not blind to the perils involved in the assumption of this rôle. The very fact that he was reputed to be "of the seed of David according to the flesh" increased the danger. Deluded adherents would inevitably try to swing his movement of national revival away from the religious direction he was giving it into the prepared channels of their own political hopes. Disappointed or disloyal followers would misuse the title to betray him. Wily priests, jealous for their wealth and position, would stealthily hint to the Roman governor that the movement had a dangerously political aspect. The Sadducean priesthood and the Roman power, these were the new foes, and the deadliest. The high-priestly nobility in Jerusalem, who owed their

place and power to Roman patronage, would not lightly yield control of the temple, the strongest fortress and the richest bank in Syria, the sole remaining spot where they retained independence even of Roman power. The "house of Annas," including Caiaphas and his son-in-law, are called by Talmudic writers "the hissing brood of Annas." They would not scruple to use secret assassination or illegal midnight seizure to promote what they might please to call the interests of "the nation." With a program of national revival, summoning Israel to its God-given task, even without public announcement of the name "the Christ," Jesus, already reputed of royal lineage, would infallibly be hailed as "Son of David." But if in some sense he must accept the rôle of restorer of the national life, we need not wonder that he insisted on silence as regards the title till silence was no longer of any avail. Mark's narrative, from Cæsarea on, is almost solely devoted to accounts how, in the inner circle of the Twelve, Jesus did his utmost to quench the deep-seated political ambitions of his followers, and to substitute for these a Messiahship "according to the things of God." Nevertheless, the Son-of-David ideal remained. That was Satan's loophole of entry into the citadel of Jesus' defense. He was not blind to the fact. The words of rebuke to Peter, borrowed by Mark from the temptation story of Q, show how

deeply Mark appreciates the irrepressible conflict of the lower and the higher ideal.

IV

There are two prophetic writings whose messages are applied by Jesus with characteristic felicity, the one to the work of the Baptist, the other to his own. Malachi appeals for the purification of Israel as the condition of Jehovah's return, laying supreme emphasis on the purification of the priesthood and temple worship. Jesus explicitly connects the work of the great Judean reformer with this prophecy of Malachi. John had been Jehovah's messenger of the covenant (*mal'achi,* "My messenger"). The other great ideal is that of Isaiah, who depicts the restoration of the national life under the figure of Jehovah as an estranged husband reconciled to a penitent wife. Jesus with equal explicitness and in the same connection compares his own ministry in Galilee to the fulfilment of this Isaian ideal. To show how characteristic is the way in which as he turns toward Judea he reverts to the work of Jehovah's messenger, I will quote a Talmudic writer who similarly, but of course quite independently, combines the two prophecies. It is a *midrash* from the Commentary on Exodus (*Debarim R.*), explaining on the basis of the two prophecies of Isaiah and

Malachi the appropriateness of the term "Tent of Witness" applied in Exodus to the Sanctuary:

A certain king was angry with his wife and forsook her. The neighbors (that is, the Gentiles; cf. Is. 49:14–50:1) declared: He will never return. Then the king sent word to her: Cleanse my palace (that is, the temple; cf. Mal. 1:6–14; 3:1–12), and on such and such a day I will return to thee. He came indeed, and was reconciled to her. Therefore is the Sanctuary called "The Tent of Witness." It is a "witness" to the Gentiles that God is no longer wroth.

If one will read Malachi and Isaiah in the light of contemporary Jewish feeling and belief, read them as did John, the son of Zacharias the Judean priest, and as Jesus read them, who was baptized of John and took up his unfinished work, I think one will understand better why when Jesus came into Judea his first public act before the nation was to cleanse the house of God, driving out the mercenary crew who had made it a den of thieves, that it might become again what the prophet had called it, "a house of prayer for all the nations." Our fourth Evangelist does not arrange his material in chronological sequence for critical historians, but solely with reference to its religous significance. It should be needless to explain that a revolutionary defiance of the Sanhedrin such as this could not have been carried through without the support of a great multitude of Galilean adherents of the prophet, nor

would the Sanhedrin have waited several years before striking back. The place given to this scene in John, at the beginning of the public ministry, is significant of logical, not chronological, order. Logically, John is right. The purging of the temple was a symbolic proclamation of Messiahship. Jesus came before all Israel with his message in this act. He took national leadership in making ready for Jehovah a people prepared for His coming. But this was of course historically the culmination, not the beginning, of the ministry.

The priests understood the challenge and took it up. For the moment they temporized. The Galilean prophet had too much right on his side, and, above all, too much popular support against one of the most flagrant abuses of the corrupt "sons of Annas." Jesus was animated in choosing this point of attack by purely religious motives. The symbolism has the clarity of all his symbols, even without his explicit reference to "the baptism of John." But we need not exclude from his well-thought-out plan something of the wisdom of the serpent in combination with the harmlessness of the dove. He knew full well that the last thing Annas and Caiaphas desired was a riot in the temple, provoking Roman intervention. He chose ground for his revolt which was geographically outside of Roman jurisdiction. Legally, it met the letter of the law; popularly, it

was a protest against an odious usurpation. His position was too strong for open assault. All the Sanhedrin could do was to send a formal delegation on the morning after, demanding, "By what authority doest thou these things?" We have seen how deeply significant was the counter-question of Jesus: "I also will ask you one question: The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or of men?" Whence came the authority of God's messenger? The priests understood the parallel, but could find no answer. They were silent, biding their time.

I must pass over the minor events of these days of crisis in Jerusalem, while Jesus' fate and that of his cause hung in the balance. Jesus was fighting single-handed a double enemy, within and without the camp. Outside were his bitter foes, the leaders of synagogue and temple, backed by the power of Rome. Inside was a misguided, fanatical patriotism raging at the Roman yoke. At any moment the cry, "The kingdom of our father David," sweeping through the fickle crowd, might carry away Jesus' ephemeral support, undermine the faith of his disciples, perhaps lead some even to betray him if their unreasonable expectations were not met.

Mark's few anecdotes of the journey from Cæsarea are devoted partly to the theme, "Forsaking All," partly to this conflict with the dangerous inward foe,

the zealot ideal of a Christ "according to the things of men." A would-be follower is ready if only he be not required to forsake his great possessions and tread the way of martyrdom. Peter and the rest want assurance of reward for having left all and followed. James and John are ready to share the cup of martyrdom, but think they should be guaranteed, in return, places at the right and left hand of Jesus at the messianic banquet. Finally, as they reach Jericho, the secret is out. Bartimæus refuses to be silent, crying "Son of David, Son of David," and when his blindness is healed the whole company take up the shout: "Hosanna to the Son of David, blessed be the kingdom that cometh, the kingdom of our father David!" It is the same multitude that will shout almost on the morrow: "Not this man, but Barabbas. Crucify him! Crucify him!"

This group of anecdotes forms the prelude in Mark to the supreme issue of the higher or the lower ideal of Christhood, which to our Evangelist is expressed by the titles: "Son of David" and "Son of Man." They lead up to the scene of conflict between Jesus and the hierocracy in the temple. Between the scene of challenge by the purging of the temple and the answer of the Sanhedrin, Mark introduces a threefold group. We have first the symbolic cursing of the barren fig-tree, of which we have

spoken; next, the parable (or, better, allegory) of the usurping husbandmen in the vineyard, who slay first the owner's messengers and then the heir—a transparent adaptation of the Wisdom plaint:

> O Jerusalem, Jerusalem;
> Thou that killest the prophets,
> And stonest them that are sent unto thee.

Finally, we have the series of party questions, Pharisees, Sadducees, and scribes presenting in succession each the typical problem of his class and receiving an answer from Jesus, till, all being silenced, Jesus in his turn propounds a question on behalf of the Church:

How say the scribes that Messiah is David's son? Doth not David himself in the Spirit call him Lord, saying:

> Jehovah said unto my Lord,
> Sit at my right hand,
> Till I make thy enemies the footstool of thy feet.

After this proof-text for the ascension, carried back by our Evangelist from the armory of ecclesiastical polemic against the Synagogue to illustrate Jesus' battle for the higher Christological ideal, comes a brief reflection of the woes against the scribes from the Second Source, a digression, apropos of their "devouring widows' houses," to tell the touching anecdote of the widow casting "all her living" into the treasury, and finally the great apocalyptic chapter, or doom of Jerusalem.

V

I shall make no delay with the illustrative anecdotes, and none with the woes on the scribes, the digression, nor the sequel, elaborately developed by our Evangelist on the basis of an authentic saying of Jesus, in which he brings the fate of Jerusalem and the unparalleled tribulations on "those in Judea" into comparison with a prophecy which he ascribes to Jesus' earthly career, but which should be recognized as a "revelation," received by the Church as "a word of the Lord" in the year 40, when Jews and Christians alike were in instant, deadly apprehension of the defilement of the temple by the mad caprice of Caius. This typical apocalyptic forecast of the coming of antichrist, doom of the temple, and appearance of the Christ to judgment may well be the same as that to which Paul alludes as "a word of the Lord" in his letters to the Thessalonians in A. D. 50, basing upon it a similar forecast and warning against the great apostasy. It is impossible to imagine Jesus in his lifetime so stultifying his own teachings against attempts to forecast the time; but it became customary in the Church to utter such apocalyptic prophecies in his name, as "revelations which God gave to him to show unto his servants" (Rev. 1: 1). The saying, then, which contrasts the "great buildings" of the temple of Herod, destined

to be overthrown, as they had been erected by man, with the building of God, the house not made by hands, eternal in the heavens, is surely from Jesus' own lips; but the elaborate forecast of the doom of Jerusalem, the great apostasy and final judgment which Mark has appended to it as a private revelation to Peter and Andrew, James and John, is a combination of Mark's own, partly derived from S, partly from Daniel, and partly from the little Christian apocalypse of the year 40 A. D. which Paul cites to the Thessalonians as "a word of the Lord." The study of the doom chapter, or "Little Apocalypse" of Mark, is of great interest to the critic, a matter of quite vital importance for the determination of the date of Mark, but negligible for our present purpose, which is simply the determination of the course of events after Jesus' defiant answer to the chief priests. I must come at once to the final tragedy, the night of betrayal and arrest, the desertion of the Twelve, the surrender of the victim to Pilate, and the fatal cross.

Mark's story of the betrayal begins with one of his characteristic digressions. He tells first of the conspiracy of priests and scribes to seize Jesus secretly and make away with him. Haste, he says, was needful, because only two days remained before the Passover, a dangerous time for the priests if Jesus meditated further appeal to the assembled multitude,

or if their own high-handed action were to become known. They followed the immemorial policy of Oriental governments in such cases, the policy followed by Antipas in the case of John, as Josephus relates—secret removal before the suspected following have time to act. Mark's statement of the situation is therefore in substance correct; only, having stated it, he digresses to relate something that occurred in the immediate circle of Jesus' adherents, apparently as having given occasion to the treachery of Judas. Unfortunately, the precise bearing of the incident on the betrayal is far from clear, because, as usual, the religious interest predominates over the historical in the narration.

The digression tells of a banquet held in the house of a certain Simon, a friend of Jesus' in the neighboring village of Bethany. At this banquet an unnamed woman disciple poured a vial of precious ointment on Jesus' head, a symbolic act whose significance on such a festive occasion could not be mistaken. It was one of those well-meant, but dangerous, ebullitions of messianic enthusiasm which Jesus had rebuked with utmost sternness among the Twelve, but which, after the scenes of conflict in the temple, were both far more dangerous, and far more difficult to control. The woman's act was her tribute to the Son of David, the Anointed of Jehovah. What use would be made of the incident if the report of it

came to the ears of Jesus' foes may be guessed from the part played by such secret anointing in some of the great scenes of Jewish history. Samuel kindled the revolt which broke the yoke of the Philistines by a secret anointing of Saul, when he had detained him after the banquet in his house. In the war over the succession after David's death, Zadok secured the rights of his protégé by a secret anointing of Solomon at Gihon. But there is one scene which comes nearest of all to the scene in Bethany, a prelude to the greatest of all revolutions in Israel's history. It relates how a messenger of the prophets broke into the circle of officers feasting in the tent of Jehu at the siege of Jabesh-Gilead. The messenger drew Jehu aside into the inner tent, poured oil upon his head in token of what was expected of him, and then fled for his life, knowing that the flame of revolt against Ahab was already kindled. The anointing of Jesus at Bethany in the inner circle of his feasting followers may not have belonged to this revolutionary group in the intention of the woman who performed the act; but it could not fail to be thus interpreted by Jesus' enemies. That was not the first time, nor the last, that a woman's enthusiasm has forced an issue which soberer judgment would have delayed.

Jesus showed the chivalry of a true knight as well as the mournful foresight of a prophet in accepting a tribute so well meant, though so ill judged. He

blessed the woman's splendid faith even as he had welcomed the confession of Peter at Cæsarea Philippi. But now, as then, in accepting it he gave it a new and unintended meaning. "Not for a throne, but for my burial is this anointing. Let her alone. She hath wrought a good work. The poor, for whom ye say this costly offering should have been made, ye have always with you, but me ye have not always."

Jesus' utterance sounded the death-knell to all hopes of an earthly kingdom of David. Perhaps he felt the loving, but rash, act to be a death-knell in reality. At all events the words which next follow in Mark's story carry forward the culmination of the drama:

> And Judas Iscariot, he that was one of the Twelve, went away unto the chief priests, that he might deliver him up unto them.

Mark does not give the precise date of the anointing. John sets it "six days before the Passover," but that is probably for the sake of ritual. Epiphanius tells us that this day, the tenth of Nisan, fixed in Mosaic law for the setting apart of the lamb for sacrifice, was observed in the primitive Church as that of the determination of Jesus' fate. They found an application of the letter I (meaning "ten") in the fact that it was the initial of Jesus' name. Mark has a different chronology for this period of Church observ-

ance, but it is well that he felt the symbolism of the story too precious to be lost, and has preserved for us Jesus' tribute to a woman's faith, even if in a sense it was the setting apart of his body for the Passover sacrifice.

I have said that Mark's chronology of Passion Week differs from that of John. It also differs from the implications of his own narrative. The reason is that in Rome the Church refused to adjust itself to the Oriental calendar and held its Easter celebration always on a Sunday, as we still do, whereas in the East, whence the fourth Gospel is derived, they continued the apostolic practice. Mark is in turn followed by Luke and Matthew, these three identifying the farewell Supper of Jesus in company of the disciples with the Jewish Passover, whereas in reality it was the so-called *kiddush* or "sanctification" of Passover, a preliminary rite at which the head of the household takes a loaf of the ordinary leavened bread (ἄρτος), blesses and breaks it and distributes to the household, and after this a cup of wine in like manner, using for the cup of thanksgiving the formula, "Blessed art thou, O Lord, who givest this fruit of the vine." The fact that it is leavened bread (ἄρτος) which Jesus breaks to the Twelve, not the unleavened bread (ἄζυμα) so strictly prescribed for the Passover, the further fact that there is no flesh of the lamb and bitter sauce, but only bread and wine, together with many features

both of the service and the attendant circumstances, such as their leaving the house before the morning, and above all, the arrest at midnight, which, if Mark's chronology be followed, would make the tragedy take place on the very day the conspirators were most anxious to avoid—all these circumstances combine to show that the Johannine chronology is right and the Roman wrong. Mark has postdated one day, in order to make the supper coincide with and thus supersede the Jewish Passover.

It was, I repeat, the Sanctification (*Kiddush*) of Passover. The preparations had been made for the celebration of the national redemption feast. Jesus and the Twelve were assembled in the house of a friend in the city itself. On the morrow at noon they would perform the ceremony of "putting away the leaven," to which Paul recalls the minds of the Corinthians. After the sacrifice of the lamb in the late afternoon, they would reassemble in the home shelter for the ritual feast, prolonging the celebration until the dawn; for it was strictly forbidden that any should pass out from the house until morning.

Jesus had greatly desired to keep this feast with the Twelve in Jerusalem. But now he clearly foresaw that he would never keep it again with them until it was "fulfilled" in the great redemption banquet of the kingdom of God. Taking the bread and wine laid ready for the sanctification, Jesus made the Supper

which followed one of solemn farewell. The bread and the wine were to symbolize his body and blood, which he now "sanctified" for their sakes, a dedication offering, as Jewish martyrs in Maccabean times had dedicated their lives for the sanctification of the Name and the honor of the Law. So now at last, openly and without reserve, Jesus told them he must perish. According to Mark, he spoke plainly of the betrayal, the later Evangelists declaring even that he pointed out the individual, and sent him to his evil work unhindered—a trait, of course, of primitive Church apologetic, which would not allow that Jesus was "crucified through weakness." At all events, Jesus saw clearly that there was no longer any way of escape from the cross, the punishment of the messianistic agitator. This must be his fate if he continued obedient to his mission, unless God intervened with some supernatural deliverance. His decision was to become obedient, even unto the death of the cross, and to make his blood a peace-offering if thereby in any way Jehovah might be reconciled to His people, and the new redemption, to the achievement of which his life had been given, might be accomplished. His hope to celebrate the feast with the Twelve in Jerusalem would be frustrated. Nevertheless,—and in this heroic "nevertheless" lies the whole secret of his ultimate victory of faith,—never-

theless, he pledged them a tryst in the kingdom of God. As the Jewish celebrant of Passover still pledges the company:

> This year here, next year in the land of Israel; this year as slaves, next year as free men,

so Jesus, as he poured out the cup which was to symbolize his blood gladly shed on behalf of all, pledged them a reunion at the Redemption Feast to come:

> Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of this "fruit of the vine," till the day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.

There remains but one more chapter of Peter's story, the account of Jesus' warning of disloyalty, Peter's protest, and offer to follow, even to prison and death. Gethsemane is next, and the prayer in agony, interrupted by the coming of Judas with a posse hastily conscripted at the high priest's house, armed, as against a robber, with clubs and swords. The struggle was but momentary. A blow aimed at the head of the high priest's servant glanced and lopped an ear. Then all forsook the Master and fled. Peter, showing for a time more courage than the rest, hung on the rear of the crowd and reached the courtyard of the high priest's house. There, challenged by a maid-servant as he stood in the light of a fire kindled against the chill of the April morning, Peter too lost

faith. With oaths and curses he denied knowledge of the man and fled into the night. Jesus was left to his fate.

What follows is based of necessity on hearsay evidence. That fire in the courtyard sheds its lurid gleam on a scene which could have no other reporter than Peter himself. None else ever depicted the humiliating rôle of the chief Apostle in such colors as these. Peter's witness to the earthly life of Jesus ends with the slaves' abuse of their helpless victim before the house, while the conspirators within wait for dawn to turn him over to Pilate, thus evading public odium for themselves. Knowing this purpose, we cannot accept as historical Mark's depiction of a public gathering of the Sanhedrin at the illegal hour of midnight only to disperse and reassemble at dawn. The scene had to be painted from conjecture, and it is painted in colors which reflect the later trials of Christians for blasphemy because they declare Jesus to be the Son of God, and await his coming on the clouds. Of course, the charge of blasphemy has no pertinence even could it be proved. It is not even mentioned to Pilate, because the conspirators were anxious to rid themselves of Jesus on a totally different charge, and instead of loading the Sanhedrin with official responsibility, were seeking in every way to avoid publicity. We must therefore take in preference the representation of the fourth Evangelist,

who treats the conspiracy of the hissing brood of Annas for what it was, and shows the detention at the house of Annas in its true nature as a mere illegal seizure and holding of the victim until he could be handed over to the Roman governor and the sentence "To the cross" obtained (under diplomatic pressure, if need be) with least possible delay and danger from the assembling multitude. The conspirators secured their end. Pilate's hesitation and reluctance were overcome. By mid-forenoon, even before the gathering of the Passover crowds in the temple, Jesus had been nailed to the cross between two insurrectionists. The work of the guardians of true religion was complete.

And Jesus' work was also complete. He had given all he had to give, his life, for the cause of God. When naught else remained, he had given his body and blood for the sanctification of the Name, and the coming of the kingdom. The issue had not been as he willed, but as his Father willed it. Only the future could show whether this way, "not according to the things of men, but the things of God," could bring to pass the redemption.

VII

WHAT JESUS REALLY SAID

I

FROM the historian's point of view, it would be an evident mistake to go to the fourth Gospel for what Jesus really said. The Ephesian Evangelist is an interpreter rather than a historian. He adopts the dialogue style appropriate to the theologian for the purpose of weaving into the current tradition of the sayings and doings a higher sense. He aims to bring in the Pauline gospel of justification by faith and life in the Spirit, and the Pauline doctrine of a "spiritual" Christ, in whom God was effecting the redemption of the world; for these elements were lacking to the Petrine tradition, at least from the point of view of the deutero-Pauline Church. From the Ephesian Evangelist we could not expect to get more than a faint echo of the actual teaching of Jesus. John elaborates synoptic themes to convey the message of Paul's "spiritual" Christ.

It would also be a mistake to take either one of the two branches of Petrine tradition, Mark or S, without

reference to the other, though the mistake would be far less flagrant. We have seen in our preliminary survey of the sources that a reconstruction of S untainted by misapplication of the testimony of Papias would give us a writing in the form of the Petrine Discourses of Acts, a brief narrative introducing a theme elaborated on the plan of the Stoic "diatribe," rather than in the form adopted by Matthew, which takes a leaf from the Pentateuch as its model. Let me recall here what was briefly stated in our first chapter on the structure of our first Gospel. Matthew presents Jesus as a second Moses, giver of the better "commandments." He combines three of the S discourses, (1) the discourse on the righteousness of sons; (2) the discourse on prayer; (3) the discourse on abiding wealth, supplemented by other floating material, to make his so-called Sermon on the Mount. He next constructs an elaborate form of the charge to the Twelve, occupying Chapter 10. Luke had placed the same S discourse side by side with the version which he takes from Mark in the form of a charge to the Seventy. Matthew attaches a discourse of warning to endure persecution, probably derived from the close of S, to make up his charge to evangelists. This tenth chapter constitutes Matthew's second sermon of Jesus. His third sermon, giving the mystery of the kingdom of God in the form of the parables, uses the great S discourse on the stumbling of Israel to serve

as introductory narrative, so that here too we have combination. For the parables also are mainly from S, as we saw; though they come to Matthew and Luke in the first instance from Mark. We have here, as usual, supplements of Matthew's own. The fourth of Matthew's bodies of teaching, on the duties of church rulers (Mt. 18), is the only one of the five which seems to find its primary basis in Mark, here too with supplements gathered by Matthew from various sources. His fifth combines the S form of the woes on scribes and Pharisees, which Luke places after the denunciation of Israel's blind leaders in Galilee, with Mark's doom of Jerusalem, following Mark's arrangement. This fifth and closing sermon on the coming judgment (Mt. 23–25) is the longest of all, and is made up, like the rest, of combined Markan and Second-Source tradition, supplemented by elements contributed by the Evangelist himself.

For our present purposes, therefore, Luke, the "historian" Evangelist, is again a better reporter than Matthew, the scribe and legalist. We get a much truer idea of the real witness of the Second Source, and its presentation of the teaching of Jesus, by using the introductory brief *mises en scène* of Luke, followed by their several themes, than we do from Matthew's elaborate fivefold law-book, in which the introductory narrative consists of whole chapters borrowed in most cases from Mark. It is probable

enough that even the discourses of S are partly artificial, that is, the introductory scenes are typical instances forming a framework for the themes under which the teaching material was grouped. S made little or no attempt at biography. But even so, this picture of Jesus' preaching in synagogues, at the lakeside, at the banquet-table in a Pharisee's house, is far truer to fact than Matthew's formal pronouncement of five consecutive bodies of commandment. S gave no labored transcript of Jesus' words. But it did give a true picture of his teaching, a worthy reproduction of its essential content.

How, then, combine the witness of Mark and S? Our study of Mark's story of the Galilean ministry has shown that the attempt to base our conception of the teaching on Mark alone would be misleading. The only one of the great Galilean discourses which he even attempts to reproduce is the parables of the kingdom, and even this is given not so much for the sake of acquainting the reader with the contents of the teaching as for the sake of explaining (in terms of Markan apologetic) its peculiarity of form. Mark simply assumes that "the gospel" was always and everywhere the same. The reader has been taught it in the Church. Mark rests on the Second Source; but he neither embodies its teaching nor makes explicit reference to it, because he does not consider that to be his province. He repeatedly re-

fers to Jesus as "teaching the people"; he even refers to "many other parables" which he might have given in addition to the three he selects to illustrate his point. But he assumes that the reader is sufficiently acquainted with what Christian conduct requires, and hastens on to the question, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" For that question, there is but one answer in Mark's Gospel: "Go, sell all that thou hast and give it to the poor, and come, follow me." "He that would save his life shall lose it. He that will lose it for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it unto life eternal." The very last answer Mark would have admitted to this all-important question is that which Matthew substitutes: "If thou wouldest enter into life, keep the commandments."

How shall we best correct the one-sidedness of Mark, recognized, as we have seen, from the earliest times? If space allowed, I should desire to develop further that contrast, spoken of in the preceding chapter, between the externalism of Mark and the sense of inward and eternal values displayed by Mark's own material (so far as he vouchsafes any insight into the real content of Jesus' teaching), and still more apparent from Paul and the Second Source. Mark makes little distinction, if any, between the message of Jesus and the message of his predecessor the Baptist. Jesus simply takes up the Baptist's summons to repentance and carries it on "after John was

shut up in prison." He comes into Galilee with the message: "Repent, and believe in the gospel." It is taken for granted that John preached "the gospel" just as Jesus did. Luke even says it explicitly. Only in S does it come out indirectly how great was the difference. John's stern warning of judgment to come differed from Jesus' message of the "glad tidings" of forgiveness and reconciliation, the fulfilment of the prophecy of "the consolation of Israel," as a funeral dirge differs from wedding-songs, as Jonah's denunciation of destruction to Nineveh differs from Solomon's persuasive "wisdom," as the mode of life of the ascetic anchorite of the desert differs from that of the Friend of publicans and sinners, coming to the haunts of men, gathering the lost sheep of Israel, and rejoicing with them as "sons of the bride-chamber." Jesus saw a present divine sovereignty in the inward working of "the Spirit of God," healing, blessing, forgiving, redeeming from the power of Satan. True, he also, like John, has discourses of denunciation for the unrepentant, woes upon blind leaders of a blind people, warnings of doom on the city that rejects and slays the messengers of God. But the essence of his message is "glad tidings." The proof of it is the present power of God to heal both physical and moral ill, to redeem, to comfort, to restore. We do not find this glad tidings in John the Baptist. The discourses of S on prayer, on abiding wealth, on the

righteousness of sons shows the real nature of this "gospel." They correspond with what we learn from all sources, even down to the Johannine interpretations, as to the inwardness and "spirituality" of Jesus' ideal of redemption.

II

But present tendencies of criticism place a one-sided emphasis on the Son-of-Man doctrine so prominent in Mark. There is a school which maintains that this was the key-note of Jesus' message. Even what Jesus taught concerning the righteousness of sons should be interpreted, they say, from this eschatological point of view. It was intended temporarily, they tell us, not as a permanent distinction between a divine and a human standard. It was a mere "*interims-ethik*." The rules Jesus laid down (if one can think of Jesus as laying down rules) were formulated in view of the end of the world, which he, like the apocalyptists of his time (and all time) thought was immediately at hand.

I am afraid the great popularity of this conception of Jesus as a deluded fanatic is still all too successful. It seems to have captured the imagination of a writer of recent date, who undertakes to paint the portrait of "The Man Himself." [1] On account of

[1] *The Man Himself*. By Rollin Lynde Hartt. Doubleday, Page and McClure. 1923.

this tendency, which I hope and believe will prove short-lived, I shall leave the Galilean discourses to make their own impression over against Mark, hoping that they may settle by their own sheer intrinsic worth the question whether it was the distinction between the now and the hereafter which occupied the foremost place in Jesus' thought and teaching, or the distinction between outward and inward, temporal and spiritual. Mark, I admit, has little or nothing of this deeper element of Jesus' teaching, an element which brings the discourses of S into closer affinity with the Hellenistic wisdom doctrines, and such writings as the Epistle of James, than with apocalypticism. Let us turn, then, to the latter part of Mark's Gospel, containing his account of the way of the cross and Jesus' teaching of loyalty to his own person; for in this the Evangelist sums up the essence of his message. Can we obtain from S any further light on Jesus' teaching concerning the Son of Man? Was there here also a difference between Mark and the Second Source? Mark exaggerates, we found, the prominence given by Jesus to his own personality, where both are dealing with the Galilean ministry. How is it here?

The transfiguration *midrash* prefixed by Mark to the second half of his Gospel is introduced for the sake of contrasting Jesus' higher ideal of Christhood with that voiced by Peter in the preceding scene of the confession. Jesus' calling is not to a kingdom of the

Son-of-David type, "according to the things of men." He goes to a martyr's fate in order that he may come again "in the glory of his Father with the holy angels." Some of the bystanders will witness this coming again of the Son of Man before they taste of death. Nothing is here said of the atoning significance of this death. Only a trace here and there suggests that the Evangelist regards it as predicted. There is the *obiter dictum* in 9: 13, "And how is it written of the Son of Man, that he should suffer many things and be set at naught," which doubtless refers to Isaiah, but fails to appear in Luke, and may be a gloss. There is the summary in 10: 45, "For the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many," and the words of institution at the Supper, "My blood poured out for many." These show a dim consciousness of that Servant doctrine which we know was fundamental in Pauline teaching, and is referred back by Paul to the teaching which he "received"; but they certainly do not advance or explain it. Were it not for these stray allusions and the almost unintelligible addition to Jesus' protest at the manner of his arrest, "But that the scriptures might be fulfilled," the reader of Mark's Gospel would not know that there was such a thing as the Servant doctrine spoken of by Paul: "how that he died for our sins according to the scriptures." There is just enough to show that

some teaching of the vicariousness of Jesus' suffering was current, but not enough to make it clear what "scripture" was referred to, much less a doctrine like that of 1 Peter 2: 24 f. that he "bare our sins in his body upon the tree" or that "by his stripes we were healed." To find out how or why any saving significance was attached to Jesus' death, the reader of Mark's Gospel would certainly have to look elsewhere. Matthew would tell him as little as Mark. Luke would tell him much of the prediction in "Moses and all the prophets" that the Christ must suffer before entering into his glory, but nothing of why he must suffer, or of the connection between his suffering and the forgiveness of sins. For that the reader would have to resort to Paul, and Paul would refer him to Peter, and Peter would refer him to the prophecy of the suffering Servant in Is. 53: 10–12. This defect is one of the many reasons why the Church absolutely required a fourth Gospel to give the "spiritual things."

We can say, then, that Mark (or Mark's material) *presupposes* a Servant doctrine like that of First Peter, but not that he *teaches* it. No one could possibly learn it from his Gospel who had not previously obtained knowledge of it elsewhere. Mark *teaches* a mere Son-of-Man doctrine, adapted to the Pauline Christological title, "The Son of God." The longest discourse of his Gospel, that which closes the public

ministry with a prediction of the doom of Jerusalem, followed by the catastrophic end of the world and coming of the Son of Man on the clouds of heaven, shows this Evangelist's point of view.

III

Our main question, then, resolves itself into this: Did Jesus lead the Twelve to Jerusalem under the assurance of such a prompt fulfilment of the Danielic prophecy, forewarning them, indeed, of the martyr fate he must suffer, but promising that survivors of that generation should witness it? Mark distinctly makes this statement, though he uses terms less clear and specific than Matthew. In the great apocalyptic chapter he does his utmost to repress fanaticism, as Paul had done in the case of the Thessalonians, warning against the false Christs and false prophets who, after the great tribulation on "those in Judea," would seek to lead astray even the elect. But he clings unswervingly to this idea of the early return of the Son of Man; whereas our oldest witness, Paul, certainly does not. Apocalyptic eschatology is quite eclipsed in Paul's later writings by the inward hope, a transfiguration even of our mortal bodies by the indwelling Spirit till we are ready to depart and be with Christ in regions where the fate of Jerusalem and its friends and foes will be of small account.

Paul's follower at Ephesus, who recasts synoptic teaching into a "spiritual" form, has so completely altered the farewell discourse (in Mark, the doom of Jerusalem) that scarcely a trace remains of the "manifestation to the world." The "return" of Jesus is to be an indwelling of himself and his Father through the Spirit in obedient and loyal hearts. Does the witness of S give any justification for this "spiritualizing" idea of the second coming? Or must we take Mark's account of the teaching concerning the Son of Man, and keep up the series of postponements which have already long since reduced to absurdity the assurances of prompt fulfilment, either tormenting the words into some impossible sense with the literalists, or else, with the so-called eschatological school of criticism, ascribing to Jesus a fanatical adherence to the pessimistic doctrine of the writers of apocalypse, and bidding modern disciples get the most they can out of his message in spite of this defect?

Mark tells us that Jesus rebuked severely the disciples' dream of a kingdom of David, warning them of the cross that awaited him in Jerusalem, and that they must expect to share his fate. He carries this representation even beyond the bounds of credibility. The words he ascribes to Jesus are not a mere warning of the risk to be run. This would be compatible with the agony in Gethsemane, and with the prayer, "If it be possible, let this cup pass." But Mark

makes Jesus give a definite, detailed prediction, repeated again and again. One naturally asks, "Why then did the Twelve follow at all?" Mark's answer leaves them apparently divided. Jesus promises them the kingdom of the Son of Man predicted in Daniel. They continue to hope, in spite of his strongest possible utterances, for the kingdom of David. Both ideals were undoubtedly present to the disciples' minds; but the intense hostility of Mark to the one and his equally intense desire to inculcate the other has led to exaggeration of the difference. So complete a disparity between the Master's ideal and that of the disciples, in a matter of life-and-death concern, would have made it impossible for them to follow. There must have been something of common ground.

It is a pity that Matthew's close adherence to the Passion story of Mark makes it for the most part impossible to say whence Luke derives the widely divergent material by which he supersedes Mark almost throughout this section. If Luke and Matthew had coincided in their divergences, we should have been able to identify the source with other sections of similar character. Fortunately, there is one small section of real Q material. Matthew and Luke both add to Mark the promise to the Twelve, "Ye shall sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Moreover, Luke gives us the context. It was part of the Supper ritual, the covenant. Jesus was pointing for-

ward to the greater redemption feast. He had declared:

> I covenant (διατίθεμαι) unto you a kingdom, even as my Father hath covenanted (διέθηκεν) to me. Ye shall eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and ye shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

At first sight that sounds very unspiritual, so much so that a number of critics wish to withdraw in this case from their fundamental principle of judging the source by the coincidence of Matthew and Luke in their variations from Mark. That is merely because they fail to recognize a scripture quotation. It was obvious to a writer of the fifth century, Andreas of Cæsarea, who points out that Jesus is simply quoting the prayer of David for the peace of Jerusalem:

> I was glad when they said unto me,
> Let us go unto the house of Jehovah.
> Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem,
> Jerusalem that art builded as a city compact together,
> Whither the tribes go up, even the tribes of Jehovah,
> A testimony for Israel,
> To give thanks unto the name of Jehovah.
> For there are set thrones for judgment,
> The thrones of the house of David.

It is the ideal of a Jewish patriot. You may even say that it reflects the Son-of-David Christology in its purest form. That is true, and it is confirmed by the fact that the mother church in Jerusalem continued for

almost a century under a sort of caliphate of the family of Jesus, still guarding their messianic hope in the nationalistic sense. As James the Lord's brother expresses it in the council on the admission of Gentile converts, it was written in the prophets:

> After these things I will turn again
> And I will rebuild once more the tabernacle of David
> which is fallen;
> And I will build again the ruins thereof,
> And I will set it up:
> That the residue of men may seek after the Lord,
> And all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called.

This also is the dream of a Jewish patriot. The two brothers are alike in this.

But it does not follow that because Jesus quoted Ps. 122, the prayer for the peace of Jerusalem, speaking of the "thrones of judgment, the thrones of the house of David," as destined for those who had "continued with him in his trials," that his vision of the New Jerusalem took as concrete or as narrowly Jewish a form as that of his brother, who was not even a believer until after the resurrection. The utterance is poetry. But how often do we have to be warned against the bald, unpoetic treatment of Oriental imagery in the speech of Jesus, especially in such moments of exalted faith as this? The Second Source does better justice than Mark to the fact that Jesus was a Son of David, and that he did cherish a Jewish

national hope. Jesus would not permit even the cry of Bartimæus to be silenced. He did look for that New Jerusalem made glorious by "thrones of judgment." But if we think he meant the words in no higher sense than "the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them" in the temptation story, then we simply show ourselves incapable of interpreting one Q element by another.

The case is exactly paralleled by the use made in the same source of the title Son of Man. One or two instances may be cited from Q of the employment of it in the Danielic or apocalyptic sense. These are for the most part in such stereotyped phrases as, "the day of the Son of Man," "the coming of the Son of Man," where there need be no reference to Jesus personally at all. They have no more to do with his personal claims than the modern term "the judgment-day" has to do with the personality of the Judge. Most of the instances which can be attributed to S, outside of these mere conventional phrases, are cases where the term (strangely enough) seems to be a substitute for the Servant. They describe it as the function of "the Son of Man" to proclaim healing, consolation, forgiveness, new life to captive Israel (Mt. 11: 19–Lk. 7: 34), to be a "servant," and to "give his life a ransom for many." The "Son of Man" is to be "delivered up." He is to "suffer, and the third day rise again." These are exactly the things we should say

about the Isaian suffering "Servant of Jehovah." They are almost the last things one could appropriately say about the "Son of Man" of Daniel and *Enoch*. What is the explanation of this strange phenomenon? It can only be explained in one of two ways: Either the term Son of Man has been substituted for that which we so strangely miss, the title the Servant, in the fragments of S which have come down to us; or else the author of S himself has made the substitution. In either case the application of the term to himself by Jesus in these passages in the sense of *Enoch* and Daniel is not supposable. It comes from a later adaptation of his teaching.

Shall we say, then, that Mark has no historic ground for his apocalypticism? That even at Cæsarea Philippi Jesus made no reference to the coming of the Son of Man on the clouds of heaven, to receive the eternal kingdom at the judgment-seat of the Ancient of Days? That, too, would be one-sided. We are not forced to choose between sharp alternatives: S or Mark, Mark or S. Our part as unbiased historians is to use one to supplement the other, checking, comparing, interweaving. Mark's antithesis, Son-of-David ideal *versus* Son-of-Man ideal, is too sharply drawn. Just as Jesus really did include in his messianic program a fulfillment of Israel's divine vocation, and was to that extent a true Israelite and son of Abraham, though his patriotism was always subordi-

nate to the higher loyalty of the kingdom of God, so he really did find room in it for the prophecies of Daniel. He even gave general endorsement to the lurid warnings of judgment to come proclaimed by the apocalyptists and by his predecessor John. So with the Son-of-Man ideal. We should have no adequate explanation why the Twelve followed him to the predicted catastrophe in Jerusalem if he set before them no hope of a triumph beyond the grave. And where should he find grounds for this ulterior hope if not in the Danielic figure of the Son of Man who receives his kingdom not on earth, but at the judgment-seat of the Ancient of Days?

The "Little Apocalypse," which constitutes Mark's one great example of the teaching of Jesus, attaching it, after his manner, as a kind of private interpretation to the four first-chosen Apostles of the significance of the saying on the abiding temple, is far from an adequate representation of Jesus' messianic ideal. It is based principally on a "revelation" received by some "prophet" of the Jerusalem church in the days when the temple under Caius was threatened with a repetition of the desecration of Antiochus. Paul has referred to this revelation as "a word of the Lord" in his letters to the Thessalonians against eschatological agitations. The "prophecy" of whose currency we thus learn was principally an application of the prediction in Daniel to the situation of the year 40 A. D.

It was subsequently again adapted to the conditions in Paul's time, before being so modified by Mark as to fit it to the conditions obtaining after the "great tribulation" on "those in Judea" in the years 67–70, and the saying on the abiding temple. It is very far from doing justice to the Son-of-Man doctrine of Jesus, but, even with the help of the "word of the Lord" given under Caius, could not have been ascribed to him without a real basis of fact. Jesus did appeal to the promise of Daniel that the everlasting kingdom should be given to the representative of suppliant Israel, who is brought to the heavenly judgment-seat by angels on the clouds. He made this appeal as an offset to his warning of rejection and death to be expected at Jerusalem. Such is in substance the testimony of Mark. The promise is paralleled by other unquestioned sayings of similar import, such as the promise "Fear not, little flock, it is your Father's decree to give you the kingdom," and the assurance of acknowledgment "in the presence of God and the holy angels" for those who should show loyalty to the end, and denial of the disloyal before the same heavenly tribunal. Of this Q promise we shall find corroboration later. But if Jesus offered no transcendental hope at Cæsarea Philippi, how could his disciples' faith in him as the Son of David have stood the test of his obvious unfit-

ness for a political revolt, to say nothing of his constant resistance to any such program? Without a Son-of-Man doctrine, the faith itself could not possibly have survived the first shock of disaster. But that does not mean that Jesus' acceptance of it was any less subject to refinement in the light of his sense of spiritual values than his acceptance of the Son-of-David ideal. Paul and John show us how the Church came at last to sublimate apocalypse into things spiritual and eternal. Is this to be ascribed solely to the spiritual genius of Paul and John? Or shall we accept their own testimony and the evidence of the Second Source that in this also they were guided by "the mind of Christ"?

It is a very striking fact that Paul never uses the title Son of Man at all, though he certainly presents a Son-of-Man eschatology in Thessalonians. If Son of Man was really, as some maintain, "the favorite self-designation of Jesus," it will be as difficult to explain Paul's avoidance of the term as his gradual dismissal of this type of thought. The Ephesian Evangelist reverts to the title, but only to use it in a new and "spiritualized" sense. In John, "the Son of Man" means what Paul means by "the heavenly man," God manifest in human form. His "revelation," which the disciples are to witness, is the ascending and descending of the angels upon him as on Jacob

who "sees God" at Bethel. He does not need to be "brought" by them to receive a kingdom from the Ancient of Days. In S, as we have seen, the Son of Man is a substitute term. It is used where the Epistle of James would use "the Lord's servant," except that the word Servant would be spelled with a capital. For the use actually made by Jesus himself, we must go back even of this, certainly back of the Markan use, which makes Jesus claim the right to forgive sins, to override the Sabbath, to command obedience from men and angels, from legions of demons, from the elements themselves. Mark has no explanation of it. He simply uses it as equivalent to Son of God, and leaves the reader to find his own explanation why, if Jesus was condemned at once to death by the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem for claiming the title Son of Man, he was permitted to use it without protest throughout the Galilean ministry. Jesus' own use of the title in application to himself will certainly not be found by the historian in the Galilean ministry, nor at any time before the warning of martyrdom at Cæsarea Philippi. It may well be found, I think, in Jesus' appeal to the Twelve on that occasion. He did set before them, I believe, on that occasion his intention to pursue his "baptism," his mission to bring Israel back to its God-given national ideal, to the bitter end. He did invite them, I believe, to join with him in the effort to make Jerusalem again "the city of

David," but in a higher and better sense, "the city of the Great King," a rejoicing to the whole earth. He did forewarn them of the fate of crucifixion that awaited them if the appeal should fail. And he did bid them remember that, even so, God would not fail them; for it was the Father's eternal decree to "give the kingdom" to this "little flock." He held up the sublime picture of Daniel the prophet, the picture of one like unto a son of man, weary and wounded and beaten to earth by the oppression of monstrous and bestial powers, but raised up by angels and carried on the soft bosom of the clouds to the heavenly judgment-seat, there to receive, from the eternal Ruler of all, "dominion, glory and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations and languages should serve him, an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away."

IV

If we ask, then, what Jesus really said regarding his own claims to loyalty as Son of Man, we must not resort exclusively to the witness of Mark. We must at least add the witness of the Second Source, on which Mark partly depends. Here, as we have seen, the title has already received, as in John, an adapted sense. It usually stands as an equivalent for the Isaian Servant of Jehovah, whose functions are those

described in Jesus' own setting forth of his mission of glad tidings, as well as in the vision of vocation, which sets in dramatic form the prophecy of Isaiah:

> Behold my Servant whom I have chosen,
> My Beloved, on whom my choice was fixed.
> I will put my Spirit upon him,
> And he shall declare judgment to the Gentiles.

I wish I could also hold that in the prediction of his death Jesus explicitly taught the doctrine of the suffering Servant. But that would be to make the scene of Gethsemane unreal, and would falsify the testimony of the most ancient sources, which uniformly represent that this parallel came as a surprise to Peter and his associates after the great catastrophe. Even Paul does not claim that Jesus ever drew it, but merely gives it as an inference from scripture framed by the disciples themselves: "He died for our sins according to the Scriptures."

There is a point, however, where the doctrine of the Son of Man, as held in the primitive Church, comes into coincidence with the doctrine of the Servant. It is in that great song of the Servant's exaltation through death, which was named in antiquity from its opening lines, "My Servant shall Deal Wisely." As you recall, it promises that the Servant shall be exalted, and be very high, because of his obedient submission to an undeserved death. Its close, which I must ren-

der literally from the Septuagint, the Bible of the primitive Church, returns to this theme of exaltation after suffering:

> Therefore shall he inherit many (as his subjects)
> And he shall divide the spoil of the mighty ones,
> As reward for the delivering up of his soul to death,
> And being reckoned among transgressors.
> He did indeed bear the sins of the many,
> And because of their lawless deeds he was delivered up.

Ancient Christian interpretation identified the "mighty ones" whose "spoil" the Servant is to distribute, precisely as Jesus in the parable of the "spoiling of the strong man armed" interprets the divine triumph over Beelzebub. The spoils of the mighty ones are the captive "souls of the saints." Hence their idea of the exaltation was that of the Servant who had suffered, and been raised to the "right hand of God." The cross, as Paul repeatedly uses the figure, gave the victory by which the demonic powers of sin and death were "spoiled" of their prey. The interpretation is, as you see, apocalyptic. The Servant is made identical with the Son of Man, brought by angels on the clouds to receive his eternal kingdom. Hence, to the writer of the Second Source, there could be no objection to the substitution of one title for the other. In the use of the term the "Son" (υἱός) instead of the "Servant" (παῖς) of Jehovah, he had been anticipated by the writer of Wisdom of Solomon. In the use of

the title Son of Man, he could plead a precedent from Jesus himself.

For there was something more than the increasing preference in the Church for apocalyptic ideals, which accounts for the eclipse of the ancient title the Servant by that of the Son of Man. As matter of simple historic fact, whereof remembrance really survived, it was only the Danielic term which could be rightly placed in the mouth of Jesus as a "self-designation." He had not so employed the title the Servant. The Church clearly recalled that it was only after Calvary that it had come to realize that God had "raised up his Servant Jesus" because "so it was written of him, that the Christ must suffer before entering into his glory." On the other hand, Jesus himself had clearly held before them, at the time when he warned them of his impending martyrdom, the promise of Daniel the prophet concerning the Son of Man. Not that we are to take the apocalyptic Christology of Mark as a true transcript of Jesus' teaching regarding things to come; but that the utterance at Cæsarea Philippi, whence this title finds its way into all parts of the record, represents a real saying of Jesus expressing his faith in a kingdom of God, surely to be granted to the "little flock," even though the Shepherd should be smitten and the sheep scattered. The ideal for which Jesus laid down his life was broad enough and high enough to embrace the vision of Daniel of

"things in the heavens," as well as the hope of Isaiah concerning "things on earth."

Just how literally Jesus interpreted the symbolism of Daniel, I would not venture to say. There is nothing more difficult in the interpretation of this obscure type of literature than the question of how far it was intended to be taken literally and how far as poetic vision. Every indication of Paul and John and the Second Source goes to show that they regarded it as open to a far less literal sense than that in which it is taken by Mark and the later representatives of Petrine tradition. On the other hand, we should be foolish to imagine that Jesus did not know the prophecy, or to question the record of Mark in its essential meaning. We must accept the witness that in the decisive hour when it was a question whether even the Twelve would not desert his cause, Jesus declared his faith in a vindication of God against which rejection itself and the fate of the cross would not prevail. This vindication he believed would come not generations after, when his name and his cause had been trodden together into the mire of a bloody oblivion, but in his own generation, before some that then stood by had tasted death. That is a prediction which I believe Jesus actually made—just as I hold with all my heart that it actually was fulfilled. It was an assurance of heroic faith, fulfilled in a way that none but God could foresee.

There is no safer rule for the historian who asks the question, "What did Jesus really say on this vital point of his own kingdom and Messiahship?" than to take that report as nearest the truth which includes within itself the germ of all later forms. Can we find some utterance surely authentic, having the support of every one of the witnesses, agreeing with all that we can most clearly perceive to have been the mind and purpose of Jesus, and at the same time of a character such as to give birth in the known developments of doctrine to all those various phases of belief of which we have spoken? I venture to believe that such an utterance exists, attested from the earliest times and in the most varied forms. It is the parting utterance of Jesus, the teaching which he embodied in the last and greatest of his parables, the acted parable of the bread and the cup. Numerous and varied are the reports, according to the varied liturgies of East and West. But all agree at least in this, that Jesus made the consecrated bread and wine tokens of his self-dedication to the cause, as before in life, so now in death also. The Jewish martyr Akiba, as he went to the stake, took upon him, it is said, the yoke of the kingdom. That is, he uttered the Shema, the creed of self-dedication. He thanked God, says the story, that as in his lifetime he had dedicated heart and mind and strength without reserve to Jehovah, so now he was permitted to devote to

him his very life. A century before Akiba, Jesus summed up religion in his last public teaching by the use of the same Shema. In the cross his body and blood are dedicated for the sanctification of the Name and the achievement of the kingdom. As he had taught men to pray, so he taught them to live and die. The farewell Supper was the climax of all, the final message to "his own" by which he would be remembered. Here is one of the most ancient embodiments of it. For the "faithful saying" quoted in II Tim. 2: 11–13 reflects in other language the same utterance already given concerning the thrones of the New Jerusalem awaiting those who had shared the Lord's trials:

> If we die with him, we shall also live with him:
> If we endure, we shall also reign with him:
> If we deny him, he also will deny us:
> If we are faithless, he abideth faithful;
> For he cannot deny himself.

The Pauline version of the Supper is one. The Lukan is another. The ancient liturgy of the *Didaché* with its ritual of "the Servant" gives a third. In one version, emphasis is placed on the self-sanctification unto death; in another, on the forgiveness and reconciliation betokened in the blood of Christ; in another, on the glories of the great redemption feast. But all are one in this, the "faith" by which Jesus won the victory, and not for himself only. It was a deliv-

erance which rescued also those of little faith, whose courage broke down before the rage of hostile powers, but who were raised up again and set upon the rock by the hand of a living Christ stretched out from heaven. It is these echoes of the covenant Supper that give undying witness to what Jesus really said concerning his Messiahship and his kingdom. That parting word of faith on the kingdom that cannot fail is of those that are not sent forth to return again void. It is a word of God that accomplishes the thing whereunto He sent it. Heaven and earth may pass away, but that promise of faith shall not pass away.

V

I must bring to a close this too brief summary of the records of Jesus' earthly life without even a summary of most of the Q discourses. But I must not omit a reminder that what we gain by historical inquiry, critical research, and comparison of sources, application of all the processes of modern scientific analysis, is only of service to us as disciples of this Master for its *religious* values. We are not primarily critical historians, and if we were, the only object for taking such pains with documents which do not figure in the public archives of world history is our desire to know the part which God was playing in the

drama. That is what Paul has taught us. The Apostle called not of men, but of God, to make of Christianity a world religion saw in it a world gospel from this viewpoint. To him, the life and teaching and death of Jesus were a revelation of the meaning of God in human history. It proved to his mind that the God and Father of Jesus Christ was a God of redemption. One who through His eternal Spirit had wrought in Jesus a work of reconciliation; not the Isaian reconciliation of Israel only, but the reconciliation of an alienated world. We cannot know the nature of that eternal redemptive Spirit in which our religious hope must lie save as we understand the Spirit of Jesus. Thank God, it is to be known partially, imperfectly, even through others! Some have learned of him. Some have been led by the Spirit of Christ who never heard his name. But to know it in its fulness, we should know and understand him. We must use all that science can teach from the primitive record of his words and deeds concerning the work which he undertook for the eternal kingdom's sake. That will give us one aspect of the divine working. But we shall not stop there. We shall go on to learn what we can of the working of his Spirit after the cross. Man's part in the redemption drama was in a sense complete when Jesus cried, "It is finished," and committed his soul to God. But God's part had just begun. We have still to ask the ques-

tion, "How did the gospel *about* Jesus begin?" In the succeeding and closing chapter of this volume I shall endeavor to apply the methods which are now more or less familiar to you to the beginnings of the Church, seeking to penetrate, so far as we may, into the strange obscurity which surrounds the birth of the resurrection faith. That also was in part a work of man, since it could never have come to pass without the teaching and the faith of the historic Jesus. But it was also in a peculiar degree the work of God. For as Paul himself assures us, the same God who energized in him unto an apostleship of the uncircumcision, by a revelation of the risen Christ, had previously energized in Peter unto an apostleship of the circumcision, when Peter turned again and stablished his brethren. The building of God was begun on that "rock" of Peter's resurrection faith.

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VIII

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CHURCH

I

IN his twofold work on the story of Jesus and the beginnings of the Church, the primitive historian-evangelist to whom tradition gives the name of Luke very properly makes the death of Jesus the dividing line. The opening reference of Acts to a "former" treatise shows what relation Luke felt to subsist between the two. The earthly ministry was what Jesus "began to do." The building of a new "people of God" prepared for the coming was the completion of his earthly work. It was left to other hands, but not without Jesus' spiritual direction. This conception of the cross as marking the boundary-line between two worlds was inevitable to Christian antiquity. It is even more sharply indicated in Mark, whose Gospel closes without a resurrection story, than in Luke, who supplies a brief summary of the "manifestations" to close his "former treatise," recapitulating in more detail where he resumes for the sequel. The first part gave the story of Jesus. The second,

at least for its first half, gives *the preaching of Peter*. Fragments survive of a first-century writing which actually circulated under this title.

Most of all is the division emphasized by Paul. This Apostle explicitly (and, we may add, wisely) limited his "gospel" to that whereof he could testify by personal experience. True, Paul was but one of many commissioned "ministers of the new covenant," ambassadors of peace from God to the world, who told how through the work of Jesus, especially his sacrificial death, mankind had been restored to God's favor, their sins and iniquities no more remembered against them. This, of course, involved a "telling of the story" as set forth in the eucharistic rite, the story of the cross as Paul admits that he "received" it from Peter, James, and other first-hand witnesses. But this was not Paul's special "gospel," his message. That was first-hand, a matter of personal religious experience, experience of "the spirit." The Christ whom Paul thus knew and preached was "not of this world." He was a glorified and "spiritual" being, exalted to the right hand of the Father. There he was waiting till his enemies (those spiritual foes of mankind summed up as Sin and Death) should be made the footstool of his feet, according to psalm and prophecy. This "spiritual" Christ had indeed a body, made "in the image of God," recognizable by relation to that worn on earth, but not the same. It

was neither derived from earth, nor subject to that decay which awaits all material and earthly things. It was "from heaven," a "building of God" replacing the "tabernacle" of clay that had returned to the dust whence it came. It was an indestructible and shining "garment" of the soul, wherewith Jesus had been "clothed upon," the pattern of that spiritual body into which our own mortal bodies must be transfigured, either by a gradual "conformation" from the indwelling Spirit while we abide on earth; or, if we are alive and remain until the Coming, by sudden and miraculous change, in a moment, the twinkling of an eye, by the power of God. On earth, Jesus had been simply "the man Christ Jesus," who had mediated for sinners as Moses "mediated" for sinful Israel at Horeb, putting his own life in pledge. Now that God had raised up Jesus and given him to be manifest to the witnesses who had been chosen, he was known only as "the Lord." To Paul he was more even than a glorified Lord. He was "the Spirit," the eternal agent of the divine work of creation, revelation, and redemption.

Paul's religion, after his conversion, is nothing else than a religion of "the Spirit." Before his conversion he had known God simply as utterer and vindicator of Law. That was the essence of his Pharisaism. After his conversion he knew God as a present agency, at work to create that family of spiritual

sons whose "manifestation" will be the goal of his eternal activity, his spiritual creation. Always, of course, Paul had accepted the Old Testament teaching of God working in the world through His Spirit. But now he saw the Spirit in operation. He saw it accomplishing among poor Galileans, rescued "sinners," what all his efforts to obtain a righteousness of his own could not accomplish because of the weakness of the flesh. Back of these victims of his persecuting zeal Paul had at last come to see "the Spirit" incarnate in the person and work of Jesus.

The light of the knowledge of the glory of God dawned upon Paul in the face of Jesus Christ. But who knows if it ever would have dawned upon Paul if it had not first been reflected from the radiant face of Stephen? Through such as Stephen, Paul saw the Spirit of Jesus. He knew there never had been, and never would be again, such a concrete demonstration of the present operation of the eternally redeeming God as in the Galilean's career. If ever there was to be a redemption of humanity, it would not be by obedience to any outward Law, Mosaic or other. It could only be by the inward operation of God's Spirit. Could evidences be found of such divine operation? Yes, there could, if blind Pharisees would but permit the scales to be torn from their eyes. They could see a heavenly Torah coming down "to make peace be-

tween God and his world." [1] They could see that God had been present by His Spirit in Jesus bringing back an estranged world into moral unity with Himself. What, then, was the faith of those who were "in Christ" before Paul?

From the moment of the "manifestation to Peter," Jesus' former disciples conceived of him as resident in heaven, in the "presence" of God, in paradise. This was regarded as the special prerogative of all who had met martyrdom in willing self-devotion "for the sanctification of the Name." They were blessed and holy above others, having part in a "first resurrection," taken up like Moses and Elias (or Enoch and Elias) to stand "in the presence of the Lord of the whole earth," as his "remembrancers," interceding for Israel's deliverance. Onias, the martyred high priest, and Jeremiah, "who made great intercession for Israel," were believed to fulfil a similar function in the heavenly regions, for God had granted them also to be seen in vision by Judas Maccabæus at the nation's hour of crisis. As Jesus himself is made to say to the disciples in the ancient *Apocalypse of Peter*, after paradise and its denizens have been shown to to them, "This is the abode of your high priests (τῶν

[1] Quoted by Schechter from Talmudic sources in the chapter on "Literary Personifications of the Torah," *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, p. 133.

ἀρχιερέων ὑμῶν), the men who have been justified." One cannot well imagine that followers of Jesus, holding beliefs like these, would not have ascribed a fate similar to that of the other martyrs of Jewish history to Jesus also, even before they experienced the "manifestations."

But to stand in the presence of the Lord, making intercession for Israel, did not remove Elias or Moses or Jeremias or Onias from the category of humanity. The "justified" (δίκαιοι) were not angels. They were not gods. They were simply men "taken up" and clothed with immortality, whose earthly devotion and present situation in heaven made "intercession for the people" their inevitable function. If the fallen angels themselves beg Enoch on his way to the presence-chamber of God to intercede on their behalf, how much more would intercession with God be expected of the martyred Jesus? Was not the Isaian Servant to "make intercession for transgressors"?

Paul, therefore, was introducing no new feature into Christian belief when he spoke of Jesus as our heavenly Advocate, pleading for sinners at God's judgment-seat against Satan, the great accuser of the brethren. It was nothing unexampled that he should offer prayer to Jesus for healing from his "stake in the flesh." From the moment that Jesus had been joined in the faith of the first disciples with the blessed company of "the men who had been taken up,"

he became the divinely appointed Intercessor for the whole Church. All prayer and worship were offered "in his name." By his name came all powers of healing, whether for body or soul. For what other purpose could a believer imagine that God had "made him both Lord and Christ"?

None of the "manifestations" present Jesus coming from the grave a resuscitated corpse, or from the underworld a feeble ghost. He is always the "glorified," "the Lord from heaven," whose body, even in the crudest attempts to prove its tangible reality, is always a "heavenly" body. On this point the Christology of Paul shows no departure from those who "were in Christ before him." The common baptismal confession was an acknowledgment of Jesus as "Lord," raised by his Father from the dead. His place was "at the right hand of God." His name was "above every name." But though now made the "one Mediator" for all humanity, he still remained "the *man* Christ Jesus."

Of course, we must make allowance for a certain difference between the Aramaic-speaking and the Greek-speaking branches of the Church in the connotation of the word *Mar* ("Lord") in Aramaic, and Κύριος, its Greek equivalent. To the Jewish Christian, "Lord" meant the exalted Redeemer of Ps. 110: 1, a glorified mortal, a "Son of Man," taken up to heaven by God to await the time when his enemies

and the enemies of God's people should be humbled under his feet. To the Greek Christian, the word would inevitably convey more or less of the connotations of its ordinary religious use, the Savior-God, who by his death and resurrection emancipates the world, "Lord" Serapis, or "Lord" Asklepios. Usually the Greek and Hellenistic "Lord" is only partly human, a demi-god. Against these pagan "gods many and lords many," the Christian, of whatever race, could admit but "*one* God the Father, and *one* Lord, Jesus Christ." Paul's Christology, however, at least in his epistles written after contact with Apollos, has a peculiarity of its own, completely absent from synoptic literature. Paul's Christology is rooted in Judaism, not in paganism. To him, the "one Mediator" is always "the *man* Christ Jesus." But to this extent it may be called Alexandrian or Hellenistic. His "heavenly Man" had *conscious* preëxistence. He was not only "foreknown" before the foundation of the world (I Pt. 1: 20) and even therefore visible to prophets like Enoch, gifted with second sight. He could and did *choose* the part of renunciation in order to redeem humanity. To Paul, Jesus incarnated, not metaphorically, but really, the eternal divine Spirit of creative, revealing, and redemptive Wisdom.

Paul's "heavenly Man" or "Man from heaven" is more congenial to Greek and Hellenistic thought than "Son of Man." But the real difference lies deeper.

To Paul, "the Lord *is* the Spirit" (II Cor. 3: 18). Because it had been the good pleasure of the Father that the whole fullness of the Spirit should take up its abode in Jesus in bodily form, thus making his whole career a work of God "in the Spirit" to reconcile the world, Paul did not think of Jesus as "made" Lord and Christ by the resurrection, but only as miraculously "declared" to be such. He *was* the Spirit. As we have seen, Paul's whole religious experience before conversion and the subsequent necessities of his missionary career made it necessary that he should insistently and consistently lay all emphasis upon what moderns call the "deity" of Christ; meaning by it, I suppose, that it is God Himself, and no other but the eternal God, only knowable to man through the invisible Spirit which works when and where and as it will, whom we worship "in" Jesus Christ. The doctrine of preëxistence is foreign to pre-Pauline Christology. But in its basic origin, Paul's Christology was identical with Peter's. All alike from the first vision of Peter had believed in Jesus as Lord and heavenly Advocate.

We see, then, that in this obscure twilight of the resurrection morning a wonderful new birth was taking place, the beginnings of the Church, the birth of a new religion from Judaism, quickened by its contact, during the preceding two centuries, with Hellenism. There is something transcendent in that mys-

terious beginning which will always elude our most searching inquiry. It is as though God had purposely shrouded His own work in mystery. Once more the end of all historical inquiry will be the answer of religion: "God wrought in Christ." *Exeunt omnia in mysterium.* But that does not mean that God wishes us to withhold our minds from reverent research. Whatever He does not mean us to know is safely hidden. So far as we can know how God gave the risen Redeemer to be manifested, it is our privilege and our duty to inquire.

We have already interpreted the transfiguration story as a *midrash* of apostolic times meant to explain how those who had been Jesus' companions in the flesh were brought to look upon their experience with him in a new light, to see it all transfigured in the heavenly radiance of the resurrection glory. Peter's ideal before his revelation, the Jewish Son-of-David ideal, is treated as Satanic. In the revelation, God proclaims the Son of Man a "heavenly King" to whom all obedience is due. A Greek Christian of the middle of the second century expresses his idea of the great transition in a sermon which begins in language of like tenor with that of Heb. 1: 1.

Brethren, says the author of Second Clement, we ought so to think of Jesus Christ as of a god, the Judge of quick and dead.

The process by which Christian thought gradually adjusted itself to this transition was long and troubled. Greek ideas and Jewish were intermingled. Only Paul's Epistles remain to show us what the factors were which came to final adjustment in the Nicene formula. Fortunately, it is not our task to delve into these intricacies of theological development. We need only to realize that beyond Paul in the misty background of Hellenistic thought lies a region of Gnostic speculation and theosophy, emanation theories, incarnation theories, of the most elaborate and fantastic kind. The Church overcame them by incorporating from them what it found adaptable to its message, as it adapted later the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. Athanasian orthodoxy really means the ultimate triumph of Paul's doctrine of God's Spirit incarnate, against Greek ideas of visitant demigods on the one hand and Jewish doctrines of translated mortals on the other. One of its roots may well be Alexandrian. The other is simply Jesus' own protest against the exaltation of himself, the mere agent and messenger, as against God, who was working by His "Spirit" in him. But to understand Paul, one must first of all understand the resurrection gospel Paul tells us he "received." For like Paul, the early Gnostics drew a dividing line between the historic Jesus and the eternal Christ. For some of them, too,

the cross marked the division, and they pointed to it as symbolized in the sky itself, where the forking of the Milky Way was supposed to set forth a heavenly cross. In the Docetic *Gospel of Peter* the witnesses of the resurrection see this cross carried up to heaven by angels and fixed among the constellations as the "boundary" (ὅρος) separating the material from the spiritual, the human from the divine. But let us get back of this second-century pseudo-Peter to the experience of the Apostle himself in the canonical documents.

II

Some to whom we have already referred attribute the loss of the primitive story of the "manifestation to Peter" to the disappearance, by accident or otherwise, of the original ending of Mark. For my part I should call it rather the disappearance of the original beginning of those primitive Acts of Peter, which formed the original sequel to the Gospel. These have been superseded in Church use by Luke's combination of a Book of the Acts of Peter with a still more primitive Acts of Paul. But whether we make Mark or Luke or some later copyist responsible, the outcome is the same. We can only reconstruct the story of the appearance to Peter, vital as it is to all historical inquiry into the beginnings of the resurrection faith,

out of stray references, reproductions, and allusions, the earliest of which, and by far the most reliable, is the definite statement of Paul: "He was manifested to Cephas, afterward to the Twelve." Personally, I cannot but regard it as a decided deterioration from the primitive tradition when the Gospel of Mark in its present form (or perhaps I ought rather, in view of its mutilated condition, to say, the form presupposed in our earliest manuscripts) combines into one this manifestation to Peter and that which Paul relates as its immediate sequel: "Afterwards (εἶτα) he appeared to the Twelve." In Mk. 14:28 the Evangelist interjects a saying between Jesus' prediction of the desertion of the Twelve and Peter's offer to follow. It is meant to pave the way for the broken resurrection story which forms the present close, beginning after the centurion's word: "Surely this man was a Son of God." The interjected logion of Mk. 14:29 reads: "Howbeit, after I am raised up I will go before you into Galilee." It paves the way, I say, for an appearance in Galilee to Peter *and* the Eleven such as the angel predicts to the women at the sepulcher, though without result, since the women do not deliver the message.

Such was the original "lost ending" of Mark. But it was not the original form of Petrine story. For not only does Paul explicitly state that there were two manifestations, one to Peter individually, the *second*

to "the Twelve," but all the most ancient traditions bear out this witness of Paul by indicating that Peter's individual experience was the motive and occasion for the subsequent rallying of the Twelve. The "revelation to Peter" is the starting-point of all the varied traditions. Jesus had prayed for Simon, that his faith might not wholly fail. Then, once Peter had turned again, he would stablish his brethren. Peter was the rock, upon whose unshakable assurance of the living presence of Christ the Church was built. But for Peter's faith, the gates of the underworld might have prevailed against it. God energized in Peter, says Paul, unto the apostleship of the circumcision. It was an experience comparable to his own. That experience of Peter is the real beginning for which the historian of the Church must seek.

The Galilean fisherman had returned to his old occupation. But God gave him to see that the higher calling to which he had been summoned by Jesus was not a delusion. On the contrary, he must now launch out into deeper waters. And he would need the whole company of his former associates to help him. Their catch of men would exceed all their capacity. All these variations on the theme of the "Turning again of Peter" emphasize the vital significance of that first manifestation of the risen Christ to Peter *individually* which was the key to all the rest; and their significance

is confirmed by Paul's reference to a separate manifestation to the "Twelve"; [1] for this followed "after" Peter's pivotal experience.

We may leave, then, to Paul that vital contribution of his own to the doctrine of the person of Christ, the identification of the spirit and personality of Jesus with the eternal redemptive Spirit of God which is designated in the Old Testament and later Jewish writings God's "Wisdom," and in Philo is made equivalent to the Logos principle of Greek philosophy. For the real "beginning" we must go back to what remains of Petrine tradition, as untinctured with Pauline theology as we can obtain it. For however soon eclipsed in the broader and brighter rays of Pauline teachings, something can still be made out of this earlier and simpler thought.

All witnesses agree that it was the revival of Peter's faith through a vision of his glorified Master which "stablished" his despairing brethren. Matthew's additions to Mark's story of the walking on the sea and Peter's confession are late elaborations, it is true, and are largely concerned to glorify Peter as founder of the Church's faith, with supreme power to

[1] Paul gives the number as "twelve" not "eleven," whether by inadvertence, or, as some think, because the number twelve actually was now determined for the first time. The manifestation to the "Twelve," would then be representative of this "apostleship to the circumcision."

"bind and loose" on moot points of faith and practice. Their imaginative form detracts from their historical value, but at all events, the motive shows their derivation from a non-Pauline, if not an anti-Pauline stream of tradition. Those who related the account of Peter's return in company with Jesus, walking on the sea, to the terror-stricken boat-load of disciples, who thereupon declare Jesus "of a truth the Son of God," were men who dated this faith from Peter's experience. Those who told of a blessing pronounced upon him by Jesus as the rock-foundation on which he would build his Church had the same experience in mind. When they declared that the gates of the underworld would be too weak to resist it, they were referring to the resurrection faith as first born in Peter's bosom. Jewish *midrash* will best illustrate the meaning of the saying, for it is certainly among Jewish Christians that these stories were told. The figure of the rock-foundation for God's building is as old as Isaiah, who seeks to reawaken Israel's faith by appeal to the example of their pilgrim ancestors:

> Hearken to me, ye that follow after righteousness,
> Ye that seek Jehovah:
> Look unto the rock whence ye were hewn,
> And unto the hole of the pit whence ye were digged.
> Look unto Abraham your father,
> And unto Sarah that bare you.

The figure is from Is. 51: 1 f. But we need the par-

able of a Jewish commentator [1] to show how it was applied in Christian circles:

> A certain king desired to build and to lay foundations; he dug ever deeper, but found only morass. At last he dug and found a rock (*petra*). He said, On this spot I will build and lay the foundations.

In the Christian adaptation, Peter's faith in the risen Christ, victor over the powers of Sheol, is made the foundation-rock of God's building. Peter becomes, like Abraham, the forefather of a new people of God.

III

We have had occasion already, in considering some midrashic elements of Gospel tradition, to see how the supreme experience of Peter was told and retold in forms continually readapted to religious edification. Whether it be an account of his walking on the sea, attached to the story of the farewell Supper in Galilee, or the transfiguration vision, in which Peter and his associates are brought to see how poor and meager their conception of a Christ according to the things of men really is when compared with the divine ideal of glorification in the image of the transfigured Son of Man, the essential feature is always the revelation (ἀποκάλυψις) which gave to Peter his "gospel to the circumcision." If we attempt to go

[1] *Yalkut* I, 766.

back of these symbol stories toward the actual experience, definitely referred to by Paul and others, but never related, we find ourselves embarrassed by the violence which has befallen the Gospel of Mark, and thereafter affected all later tradition.

Two stages can be clearly distinguished in the development of the tradition from the form in which it was known to Paul, one within the limits of Mark itself. (1) Mk. 14: 27 predicts the scattering of the flock by the stroke about to fall upon the Shepherd, and to this Peter answers with a protest. No other conceivable sequel is adapted to this opening save the flight to Galilee which actually ensues in Mark's story. It assumes that Peter is separated from the rest, his own flight being delayed by events at the high priest's court. The flight to Galilee and return to Jerusalem are certainly historical; for how could traditions arise so derogatory to the Twelve—how could manifestations be imagined so remote from the tomb on which all thought was fastened—if such had not been the fact? Paul's account of a manifestation to Peter is not geographically located, but it is followed by a manifestation "to the Twelve" which is in perfect agreement with this. One can hardly imagine any other agency than Peter's for the reassembling of the scattered disciples; and this is confirmed by the Lukan logion on "stablishing the brethren" as well as the saying about the rock, and the symbolic scene of

Peter's return with Jesus over the waves to the frightened boat-load of disciples. We should not allow the supreme significance of this first step toward the founding of the Church to be taken away. We should not join in robbing Peter to pay Paul, by depriving Peter of the credit which belongs to him here in spite of the development of later narrative. Such robbery takes place, however, when, instead of this rallying by Peter, we get, even in Mark, a divergent form in which Jesus himself rallies the scattered flock, and grants his manifestation to the Twelve already in company with Peter. This is the form which the narrative had already assumed when the Roman Gospel of Mark took its present shape. Between the predicted scattering and Peter's protest, a verse has been inserted (Mk. 14: 28) in which Jesus personally undertakes this. It ushers in the whole present form of the resurrection story, whose starting-point is the women's experience at the tomb, for the angel at the sepulcher recalls it to the women. This form of the tradition, which combines a Jerusalem sepulcher-story unknown to Paul with a Galilean manifestation to the Twelve *including* Peter, is certainly secondary, for it omits the most vital of all the resurrection appearances, the first, to Peter. Whether the mutilation of Mark as we have it is due to reaction against this great robbery of Peter is of course matter for conjecture only, but it should at least receive more consideration

than explanations based on mere accident. Our Gospel of Matthew represents this deutero-Markan resurrection tradition, though without the scenes of the second call of Peter and his partners from their nets, as set forth in the *Gospel of Peter* and the appendix to John. Matthew does not even mention the return to Jerusalem. From "a mountain where Jesus had appointed" in Galilee, the Twelve are sent into all the world. Clearly, Matthew did not know the original sequel to the story of Peter's denial.

The second clearly determinable change in the primitive resurrection story is effected by Luke and looks like a simplification. Paul has nothing to say about geographical situations, unless the slight change in construction before the reference to the manifestation to the five hundred, repeating the principal verb, be considered to favor a change of locality. But Luke has abolished the flight to Galilee altogether, and in this is followed by the fourth Evangelist, that is, the author of Jn. 1: 1–20: 31; for the author of the appendix to John has reinstated the Galilean tradition by attaching the scenes at the Sea of Galilee in the form of a *second* commission of Peter and John, after they had already been commissioned in the preceding chapter in company with the Twelve.

But why has Luke canceled the flight to Galilee? Not merely for greater simplicity, surely, but *to harmonize his sources.* For Luke also has inserted as

part of his resurrection narrative a manifestation to Peter and the Eleven, whose original scene was probably the lakeside in Galilee. This appears from the fact that the story has no room to stand in its present connection in Lk. 24: 36–49; moreover, it is paralleled in the appendix to John and in the *Didaskalia Petri*, whence it was quoted by Ignatius no later than 115 A. D. In this account, Jesus eats with the disciples to prove his bodily nature, the viand being the same as in Jn. 21: 9, a broiled fish. The story is almost certainly a variant form of the Galilean tradition represented in the lost ending of Mark and the fragmentary close of the *Gospel according to Peter*. In this early second-century gospel the Twelve remain in hiding in Jerusalem throughout the eight days of Unleavened Bread, returning thereafter to Galilee "mourning and weeping" over the catastrophe, for no word from the women had reached them. It is therefore some ten days after the crucifixion that the manifestation takes place, presumably to Peter and his associates together. Such was probably the form of the lost ending of Mark.

But if Luke believed, as the Emmaus story implies, that not only the resurrection took place "on the third day," as the ancient formula maintained, but that the manifestation to Simon had also taken place thus early, there was no time for a return to Galilee. Even the scene of the meal of broiled fish had to be

transferred to Jerusalem along with all the rest, if Luke would be loyal to his principal source. Thus in Mark and Luke we obtain side by side two variant forms of the tradition, one a Galilean tradition, in which originally the women and the sepulcher played no part, any more than in Paul's summary, the other a Jerusalem tradition in which the Galilean scenes played no part. It is the Jerusalem tomb-tradition which threatens by its later developments to exclude Peter's "turning again," though Paul's references show this experience of Peter to have been the real beginning of the resurrection faith.

IV

There is one further stream of ancient tradition which, as far as our New Testament is concerned, has become more completely submerged than even the vision of Peter. It is the manifestation to James, which Paul enumerates next after that to the five hundred brethren. To the Jerusalem branch of the Church, which looked to James as the "bishop of bishops" and maintained a sort of caliphate succession in Jerusalem of the kindred of the Lord (δεσπόσυνοι), this was the first and supreme manifestation, and had taken place at Jerusalem. This is implied in the fragment preserved to us by Origen and Jerome from the Gospel current among these Jewish Christians. It related the

resurrection appearance to James in a manner analogous to the Petrine tradition. In both, Jesus "eats together" with the Twelve, or is "known of them in the breaking of the bread." This feature is probably emphasized in the traditions because they were rehearsed in connection with the celebration of the "breaking of fast" at Easter dawn, when those who had been fasting in commemoration of the death of Jesus again partook of food, rejoicing at his resurrection. As you will easily perceive from the ancient excerpt from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews,* the Evangelist is relating the origin of the Church's practice. It runs as follows:

> But when the Lord had given the winding-sheet to the servant of the high priest he went to James and appeared to him; for James had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour in which he had drunk the Lord's cup until he should behold him rising from among the dead.

This is, of course, not Galilee, where the high priest's servant would be out of place, but Jerusalem. There is also something unexplained about the vow of James, and his "drinking the Lord's cup"; for James was not one of the company at the Last Supper. I will not detain you with conjecture as to the original sense, but only point out that the tradition, while late, is quite independent, and clearly reflects Jewish-Christian belief and observance. A little farther on, the story related how the Lord called for "a table and

bread," and continued with the utterance applicable to the sacrament:

> He took the bread and blessed and brake it and gave to James the Just (the surname of this James) and said to him: Eat thy bread, my brother, for the Son of Man is risen from the dead.

The canonical sources have not left one trace of this "manifestation to James" save the mention by Paul, which proves it a historical occurrence. But the very method of Paul's mention confirms the importance which it seems to have had for the Jerusalem church as the beginning of the new faith.

Can anything be made out regarding this divergence? We notice that the only two individuals whom Paul saw in Jerusalem, when three years after his conversion he went up to Jerusalem, were Peter and James, and that, in his account of the appearances, there is a new beginning after his report of the experience of the five hundred. We have also seen that the appearances to Peter and the Twelve could only have been in Galilee. On the other hand, it has been forcefully observed that Paul could not have kept informed as to the proportions of living and dead among the "five hundred brethren" unless they had remained together as a body, which could only be the case at Jerusalem. Now it is extremely improbable that five hundred disciples could have been summoned together at Jerusalem in these earliest days. There-

fore we must assume that the gathering had been in Galilee, doubtless as a sequel to the manifestations to Peter and the Twelve. The next step after these two manifestations was the assembling of five hundred in Galilee, probably on occasion of the impending Pentecost, determined to await the Lord's coming in Jerusalem. This gathering was Peter's work. He and the Twelve were making amends for their desertion by again becoming fishers of men. Galilee was the only region where this could be done; but the company did not remain in Galilee. They retraced the steps in which they had followed their Master on the last journey, convinced now that he would reappear in glory on Mount Zion, to make Jerusalem a praise for the whole earth. More than half of this original company, the "primary" disciples, among whom the Book of Acts reckons "one Mnason a Cypriote," were still living in Jerusalem in 54 A. D. when Paul wrote.

If with these geographical considerations in mind, and especially the mutual independence of the Petrine and Jacobean traditions, each of which tells the story in complete disregard of the other, it will be fairly apparent that Paul's testimony falls properly into two parts, each relating three "manifestations" to some extent paralleling one another; for "the Twelve," who form the middle link between Peter and the five hundred, doubtless stand in the same relation to Peter as "the apostles" in the second group stand to James,

though Paul has others besides the Twelve in mind when he speaks of "apostles." His record of the "manifestations" should therefore appear in two columns, thus:

He appeared to Cephas; then to the Twelve.	Then he appeared, to James; then to all the 'apostles.'
Then he appeared to above five hundred brethren at once, etc.	Last of all he appeared to me also, as to a child untimely born.

Here the left-hand column will represent the Galilean tradition, the right hand that of the Jerusalem church.

As you know, the ancient Petrine tradition as recorded in Mark has not one word to say about Jesus' mother or brethren from the time they are renounced by him after an attempt to frustrate his work (Mk. 3: 21, 31–35). There is another allusion to the unbelief of Jesus' kindred in the account of the rejection in Nazareth (Mk. 6: 3 f.); but Mark does not mention Jesus' kindred among the group at the cross, nor in any way intimate that they did not remain in Galilee, persistent in their unbelief. Only in Acts 1: 14 does it suddenly appear that Jesus' "mother and brethren" were part of the company, while our fourth Evangelist makes room for Jesus' mother at the foot of the cross itself.

Here again is evidence of two independent new beginnings. Petrine tradition ignores Jacobean as com-

pletely as Jacobean ignores Petrine. And yet Paul's testimony shows that both are true. We must suppose, then, that Jesus' mother and brethren went to Jerusalem so soon after the tragedy that they remained unmentioned in the Galilean "manifestations"; while in the Jerusalem tradition, particularly in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, the record speaks as if they had been there from the very drinking of the cup.

The canonical Gospels follow Petrine sources. Only in Luke do we get a few surviving vestiges of the Jacobean, among them the complete cancellation of the Galilean appearances, and the sudden and unexplained appearance in Acts 1: 12 of "mother and brethren," and in Acts 12: 17 of "James" as head of the Jerusalem church. In point of fact, it was neither the Jerusalem church which made Christianity a new religion, nor those Jewish Christians who attempted to form there a Davidic succession in the family of Jesus, setting up first his brother, James the Just. Paul's Epistles prove that the Jerusalem body was strong enough throughout the first generation to make a great deal of trouble for him. In fact, Paul lost both liberty and life in his heroic effort to prevent church disruption. The disruption *was* averted. Ephesians, the great Epistle of the Unity of the Spirit, is Paul's hymn of praise and prayer for the peace of the Church redeemed by Christ's blood. But "those

of James" did little to help. Ultimately, the reactionaries and disruptionists either yielded to the broader-minded element, or were cut off as irreconcilables. The Ebionite heretics, as they came to be called, were of the past, and they disappeared into it. We may leave them to their obscurity.

V

Our own line of spiritual succession goes back through Paul to Peter. If we would follow back to its beginnings that resurrection faith which became the foundation of Christianity as a new religion for humanity, we can afford to dismiss briefly the story of the little spiritual dynasty formed at Jerusalem under the leadership of James, and apply all the historico-critical processes at our command to the scattered echoes that remain of the vision of Peter, his "turning again," his "stablishing of his brethren," his return to the work in Jerusalem, making common cause with those "from James." To these first labors of Peter must be added his missionary work from Cæsarea to Antioch, and his probable martyrdom at Rome under Nero. From Peter's own hand we have nothing. Even the First Epistle, which alone in antiquity laid serious claim to authenticity, is admitted by its ablest champion in modern times to consist so largely of Pauline teaching and phraseology as to make it only an indirect reflection of Peter "through Silvanus."

But Paul is not ungenerous to his great predecessor in the gospel. With all his insistence on the independence of his own commission, he freely acknowledges that Peter's experience preceded his own, and was of the same nature, save that the working of God to reveal his Son in Peter, was "unto an apostleship of the circumcision" only. Peter was the first eyewitness whose story Paul learned after he became a Christian. Peter's mode of life as a traveling representative of the churches was Paul's defense of his right to support. Even when he "withstood Peter to his face" on the question of justification apart from works, it was to remind him that he was contradicting his own fundamental principles. At Antioch, Paul did not succeed in winning over the Jewish element. "Even Barnabas" yielded to the representatives "of James," and we have nothing to show that they changed back again. But when Paul publicly arraigned Peter before the Antioch church for yielding to "those from James," he proved the inconsistency of Peter's compromise with his avowed convictions. Paul certainly obtained, then, Peter's assent to the essence of the message "that a man is not justified by works of law, but only through faith in Jesus Christ." If Peter did not acknowledge this, then there is no sense in Paul's report of the incident. If Peter did acknowledge it, then he and Paul were at one in their essential message, however they might vary in phrase-

ology or application. Our present task is to reconstruct, as far as the scattered fragments and echoes allow, the story of Peter's spiritual experience, that contact with the spiritual, risen Christ which gave him a gospel comparable to that which Paul preached; not the mere reminiscences, which we may well believe he used "as occasion required" in his preaching, according to ancient tradition, as well as the internal evidence of synoptic story, but what Paul speaks of as "the word of the reconciliation," the glad tidings of peace and forgiveness from God with which every "minister of the new covenant" was charged as his embassage to the world. This was Peter's "apostleship," though at first he had not conceived it as applying to the Gentiles.

The ancient traditions unite in looking back to Peter's experience after his flight to Galilee as a "turning back," a "re-vocation," a resumption of the task to which he had been originally called from his nets, a vision which not only secured to him a sense of forgiveness for his cowardice, but of new strength and hope, together with responsibility for his brethren, without whose coöperation he could scarcely hope to make even a beginning. We know from Paul and the single allusion in Lk. 24: 34, "hath appeared to Simon," that the first step of all was a "manifestation" to Peter, individually and personally. The later forms of the story, such as the fragment of the

Gospel according to Peter and the appendix to John, which appear to rest on the lost ending of Mark, combine this personal experience with its sequel, which Paul speaks of as a separate appearance "to the Twelve"; though for some reason the two documents just named appear to have a more limited group in mind. Peter and his companions, whether six or ten, had resumed their old occupation at the Sea of Galilee.

But Peter's mind was not at rest. It is very significant indeed when we come to ask the question why Christianity took the road which led through Paul to the founding of a new world-religion, rather than that of James which led back toward the Son-of-David ideal, that the prime factor in the religious experience of both Peter and Paul, so far as it can be traced on the human side, was a despairing sense of sin. Paul's we can trace. His attempt to find peace with God through the law broke utterly down when faced with the "law of sin" which he found rooted in his members. Peter was no rabbi. He was a plain Galilean fisherman. But he had once dedicated himself to the ideal of Jesus to "gather the lost sheep of Israel." He knew the nature of Jesus' ideal. He remembered all too vividly how he had become estranged from it, how he had ultimately forsaken and denied it. He was now safe, back at his nets. And Jesus—well, if there were a place in paradise, in the

presence of God, for such as gave their lives for the kingdom of God and the sanctification of the Name, Jesus must be there. To Peter, the gulf of separation was intolerable. Paul, we know, found it impossible to go on in the face of that spirit of Jesus which confronted him in his victims, men who knew a peace with God which he himself knew not. Could Peter, who had known that spirit in Jesus himself, go on at the old drudgery of the nets and forget the calling of God to which he had before responded? The psychology of rabbi and fisherman must have been different indeed, but it had one touch of nature which made it kin with all our common humanity. Contact with such a personality as that of Jesus is contact with the Eternal. A man must do violence to his own soul, or else respond to the voice of God that speaks through spirits such as his. In the providence of God, the veil of mystery has fallen upon the new birth of Peter's soul. We know little indeed of the outward circumstances, less than in Paul's own case. We do know, however, from Paul's own comparison, that God "revealed his Son" in the heartbroken, penitent disciple. Peter, like Paul, saw the glory of the forgiving God and Father of his Lord in the face of Jesus Christ.

Our accepted notion of Martin Luther makes him the ardent devotee of Paul, even at the expense of Peter. But this is what Luther wrote of Peter:

"Whenever I look at Peter my very heart leaps for joy. If I could paint a portrait of Peter, I would paint on every hair of his head, 'I believe in the forgiveness of sins.' "

VI

I have but one more item of evidence to add, for the benefit of those who would penetrate as deeply as science may into the mystery. Reverently do I believe that the impulse to do so is of God. Let us see if the documents, early and late, afford any further trace of the psychology of the vision of Peter.

In Paul's record of the testimony, the vision of Peter is immediately prefaced by two references to "scripture": "Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures," and, "He was raised the third day, according to the scriptures." With regard to the second passage concerned, I will only say that my own conviction differs from that of most moderns. I think the ancient Quartodecimans were right who maintained that the "scripture" referred to by Paul was the command of Lev. 23: 10 regarding observance of the Feast of Firstfruits on the third day after the sacrifice of the Passover lamb. Jesus became the Firstfruits of the resurrection on the day when the new harvest was dedicated to God, just as he had become "our Passover" on the day when the Passover

was sacrificed. Others seek elsewhere for the particular "scripture" Paul has in mind. All, however, must acknowledge that the date "the third day" does not apply to the appearances; human, psychological experiences which began later. It applies to the invisible act of God who brought up Jesus from Sheol and made him to sit at his own right hand, a date for which no earthly calendar suffices.

The other "scripture" in Paul's mind is, fortunately, not disputed. All admit that the reference can be only to the self-dedication of the Servant in the famous chapter of Isaiah which became central to Christian theology. But the strange thing is that while Paul definitely states that this was the core and kernel of the primitive gospel, even before he himself became a Christian, it plays only a very slight part in Paul's own writings, and almost none at all in the Gospels. The use of this great chapter of Isaiah is like the use of the title "the Servant," which is central to it. You would expect the title "the Servant" to be frequent, a "favorite self-designation of Jesus," if any such there were. In reality, it is never ascribed to him. It is never used by Paul. It never occurs at all in the New Testament except four times in the speeches of *Peter* in Acts. It occurs also a half-dozen times in the earliest church liturgies, where there is special reference to the redemptive sacrifice; but these are mere ghosts of its former currency.

Paul reflects the *idea* in his description of the "mind of Christ" in Phil. 2: 5–7 and elsewhere, just as he certainly reflects the Isaian prophecy in Rom. 4: 25–5: 11 and elsewhere. But he nowhere uses the title, and nowhere makes specific reference to the prophecy, or appeals to it. The Servant doctrine was something Paul had "received." It needed no repetition.

The case is somewhat similar in the Gospels. Occasionally we get a glimpse of the teaching that Christ died for our sins. Twice the statement appears in Mark, once at the farewell Supper in the formula: "My blood shed for many," and once where Jesus foreshadows this sacrifice, "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom instead of many." But in neither case do we get any reference to the prophecy, or explanation of the teaching. In Matthew, the Evangelist even seems to avoid the doctrine that Jesus "bore our sins" by using the phrase "bare our sins" as a prediction of his physical cures. His healings, says this Evangelist were "in order that it might be fulfilled which was spoken through Isaiah the prophet, saying, Himself took our infirmities and bare our *diseases*." The case is different in the special source of Luke, whose central figure even in the Gospel is Peter, much as in the opening chapters of Acts. In Luke we find a continual dwelling upon the Isaian prediction of the sufferings of the Servant. But the Lukan use is pe-

culiar. It is never stated or represented that Jesus during his lifetime applied these prophecies to himself, or used the title "the Servant" of himself. Also Luke invariably alters or omits every suggestion that Jesus suffered "for the forgiveness of sins." Only after the crucifixion are the minds of the disciples suddenly opened to realize that "it was written that the Christ should suffer," and after that should be glorified.

In Luke the use to which the prophecy is put is apologetic, not doctrinal. The Petrine elements of Luke are full of intimations that the sufferings of Jesus were in reality the fulfilment of the Isaian prophecy, as when Philip uses it in the conversion of the eunuch. But the prophecy is used here as elsewhere solely to prove that Jesus was indeed the Christ, *in spite of* sufferings, because these were only in accordance with "the determinate foreknowledge and counsel of God."

Precisely the same attitude is taken toward the Servant doctrine in the earliest of our uncanonical Petrine sources. The so-called *Preaching of Peter* (Κήρυγμα Πέτρου), quoted by Clement, relates the awakening of the Twelve to the truth of the resurrection as follows:

> But we, opening the books of the prophets which we had, found them naming Jesus as the Christ, sometimes in parables, sometimes in riddles, sometimes openly and literally,

both his coming and his death, and the cross, and all the other sufferings which the Jews inflicted on him, and his rising again and his assumption into heaven before the judgment on Jerusalem, just as all these things had been written which it was needful for him to suffer, and the things which were to ensue afterward. Accordingly when we had understood these things we believed in God through the things which had been written regarding him.

The *Preaching of Peter* is about contemporary with our canonical Book of Acts, and is manifestly dominated by the same conception of the prediction of the sufferings in scripture.

Whence, then, comes this fundamental doctrine of Christ as the suffering Servant? Strangely enough, there is only one document in the New Testament which reflects clearly and unambiguously the doctrine which Paul tells us was the primitive faith, by definitely stating that Jesus suffered as an offering for our sins, and by connecting the doctrine with its Isaian basis. The document in question is *The First Epistle of Peter.* Here we have a statement in Pauline phraseology, though in more definite terms than anywhere in Paul, of the doctrine which elsewhere scarcely finds expression save in the formula of the sacrament:

He bare our sins in his body on the tree, that we, having died unto sins might live unto righteousness; by whose stripes ye were healed. For ye were going astray like sheep; but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls (1 Pt. 2: 23–25).

I cannot for my own part accept as an authentic letter of Peter even this earliest and best attested of all the writings to which his name has been attached. But this does not warrant a disregard of the striking fact that the doctrine of the Servant, which underlies the first rudiments of Paul's gospel of "justification apart from works of law," and is used by him as the standard which Peter himself must acknowledge, finds expression, outside of Paul and documents directly influenced by Paul, *only* in those which attempt to give us the teaching of Peter. The doctrine is not clearly enunciated. In the later documents it appears only in the form of apologetic, as a defense against the stumbling-block of the cross. But the further back we go toward Peter's own time, the more clearly does it appear as a direct contribution of Peter's own faith. It is not represented as a lesson learned from the lips of Jesus during his lifetime. Indeed, the supposition that Jesus had applied the Isaian teaching to his own case would conflict with his own prayer that this cup should pass from him, as well as with the uniform testimony of all the sources that the teaching came to the Twelve as a great new opening of their eyes after the catastrophe of Calvary. It is related as a testimony of "scripture" to which the dull eyes of the Twelve had been opened in the dawn of the resurrection.

It may be that the scattered evidences will not seem

to you to warrant the inference I have ventured to draw. Possibly it may seem to you a mere irrelevant detail regarding the religious experience of Peter which laid the foundation of the Church. In the absence of more specific testimony I can only leave Paul's assurances to bear their own witness. But at all events, Paul explicitly declares that this doctrine of the vicarious sacrifice of the Servant did not originate with himself, but was an essential element of the gospel he "received," and that it was embodied in that commemorative rite wherein the Church enshrined the parting message of its Lord.

If this testimony suffice to justify my belief that this first form of the atonement doctrine, based on the Isaian prophecy of the suffering Servant, stands connected with the "turning again of Simon Peter," the fact is not irrelevant. Its real bearing will best be seen if I simply subjoin a rendering of that Isaian prophecy in the exact form in which it would be most familiar to Peter himself. Fortunately, the Aramaic Targum of Isaiah, current in the Apostles' time, is still extant. This is the form in which it gives the promise of the suffering Servant:

Behold my servant Messiah shall prosper. He shall be high and increase, and be exceeding strong. As the house of Israel looked for him many days, so shall he scatter many peoples. . . . Then he will become despised, and (God) will cut off (Israel) the glory of all kingdoms. They will

be prostrate and mourning like a man of pains, and like one destined for sicknesses. And as though the presence of the Shekinah had been withdrawn from us, they will be despised and not esteemed. Then for our sins he will make supplication, and for his sake our iniquities will be forgiven. . . . He will build up the Holy Place that was polluted for our sins, and delivered to the enemy for our iniquities. And by his teaching peace shall be increased upon us; by devotion to his words our sins will be forgiven us. . . . It is the Lord's good pleasure to test and to purify the remnant of his people, so as to purge their souls from sin. These shall look on the kingdom of their Messiah. . . . He shall intercede for many sins, and the rebellious for his sake shall be forgiven.

Such was not the ideal, I admit, with which Peter and his fellow-disciples had gone up with Jesus to Jerusalem. If it became the foundation of Peter's gospel afterward, it was because he too, like Paul, passed through a great crisis of the soul when he became the founder of the new people of God. Peter believed, in common with his Galilean fellow-countrymen, in the presence with God of Moses, the great intercessor for Israel, together with Elias, the one whom God should send with Moses to effect the great repentance. He may have believed with the author of Fourth Maccabees, that those who had "endured torments unto death" for the sanctification of the Name were given a place at once "beside God's throne" as intercessors, and so "became a redemption for the sins of the nation, and through the blood of

those devoted men and the propitiation of their death" Israel was saved. He may have read, as we still read, the vision of Judas the Maccabee before the great battle with Nicanor, when Judas saw Jeremiah the prophet of God, who prayed for the people and the holy city, together with the martyred high priest Onias "with outstretched hands invoking blessing on the whole people of the Jews." I doubt not Peter's vision of the glorified Christ had in it all the elements of these visions of Moses and Elias and other deliverers of Israel which filled the faith of heroes and prophets of his time. I doubt not that Peter's vision went beyond these in adding the third and transcendent figure of the transfiguration story of whom the voice from heaven declared, "This is my Son, the Beloved, hearken ye to him." But I think we must add more. I think we must add the figure of the interceding Servant, by whose supplication, and for whose sake, our iniquities will be forgiven. It was this element of personal religious experience, the forgiveness of sin for Christ's sake, that made Peter's call to his apostleship of the circumcision the fit prelude to the experience and gospel of Paul.

VII

Of the two institutions wherein the primitive Church had already enshrined its faith before the

conversion of Paul, I have spoken elsewhere. We know the sense which they bore to Paul, and that he was convinced that in attaching this sense he was guilty of no innovation. If we have interpreted aright the experience of Peter, this Apostle's conviction must have been in full sympathy with Paul's, though we must of course allow for the broadening effect of Paul's special revelation and commission to the Gentiles. What the sacrament of the Supper meant to Paul is best expressed in that appropriation of Jesus' word of self-dedication, "He loved me, and gave himself for me." Peter may have applied the words in a less individual sense, thinking primarily of Jesus' self-dedication as for the forgiveness and redemption of the people of God. But unless Peter too was able with Paul to give it also a personal, and so a universal, application, it is difficult to see how Paul could challenge him to acknowledge that he had "sought to be justified by faith in Jesus Christ and not by works of law." Obviously, Paul believed Peter held to a doctrine of forgiveness through the grace of the Lord Jesus. The religious experience of Peter, if we understand it, is not opposed to Paul's, and at this remove it is rather difficult to discover a more competent witness than Paul as to what Peter's religious faith really was.

As regards the institution of baptism, adopted almost immediately after the origin of the resurrection

faith as a rite of initiation into the new brotherhood, we know what it also meant to Paul. But there is a strange silence concerning its origin. Luke merely relates the fact that the Church did baptize "into the name of Jesus," without one word as to when or why the rite was adopted, or on whose initiative. Mark merely makes the Baptist predict a baptism of the Spirit, to come after his own. The fulfilment of this prediction is not related. Matthew adds to the commission given by the risen Christ to the Twelve a command to baptize "into the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit," but without any explanation of the significance of the rite. John maintains that Jesus' disciples even before Calvary had practised baptism, but he evidently means the rite instituted by the Baptist, for he clearly distinguishes Christian baptism as involving the gift of the Spirit, a post-resurrection experience. If we turn to Paul and the sources employed by Luke in Acts, it becomes manifest that the rite was instituted from the earliest times, only a singular group of Johannine believers at Ephesus knowing nothing of it in its Christian form. Moreover, it is regarded as a rite of adoption through which the believer, acknowledging Jesus as "Lord," is in turn acknowledged by him through the outpouring upon him of the Spirit which the risen Christ mediates from the Father. The "gifts," which are of the same nature as the "signs" which had accom-

panied the ministry of Jesus, are a witness from God of His acceptance of the applicant to "sonship." They are God's "seal" upon the covenant, as the believer who receives them in turn "sets to his seal that God is true" to His promise. "Tongues" were the great new sign especially associated with the rite as a witness from God, and were regarded as a direct utterance of His Spirit. Such cries as Abba, that is, "Father," *Maran-atha,* "Lord, come," taken directly from the Aramaic speech of Jesus, and other prayers and ejaculations unintelligible to all ears not spiritually opened, were a wonder to outsiders, a manifest proof to believers that the promise made in the prophets of the outpouring of God's Spirit in the last days upon all flesh had been fulfilled through the agency of Jesus. Because he had been exalted to the right hand of God, as David sung regarding the Messiah, and had received of the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, this which they saw and heard was poured forth.

Paul, as we have seen, places all emphasis upon the moral renewal effected by this Spirit. No matter how marvelous the gifts, unless they were rooted in love such as Christ's, and bore the actual fruits of Christ's spirit, they were "nothing." Not all believers rose to this Pauline level; but all concurred in regarding the "gift of the Spirit" as the decisive evidence. If any man had it, God had received him.

If any had it not, he was not of Christ's. The association of this fundamental note of the Church with baptism, always and everywhere, proves that Luke's account of the Pentecostal gift is no invention, whatever the legendary traits which may have become attached to the story in the effort to bring out its religious significance. Luke, however, leaves us wholly in the dark as regards the universal association of the gift of the Spirit with *baptism*. Moreover, his elimination of all the resurrection manifestations outside Jerusalem and its immediate vicinity forces him to exclude any such scene as we have found it necessary to assume in the case of the migration of the Galilean brotherhood to Jerusalem. His date, on the other hand, the Pentecost following the fatal Passover, must really mark some such decisive event, else it could hardly play the part given it in early Christian observance. Perhaps we may think of the great body of Galilean believers gathered by Peter and the Twelve during the "forty days" which intervened between Peter's "turning again" and the feast, a company numbering according to Paul's record "more than five hundred," camping at the fords of Jordan, the scene of John's baptism, on the eve of reëntrance into the city which had witnessed so shortly before the great tragedy now to be retrieved. If they were to be a new "people prepared for the coming," they would need a token of loyalty to Christ as "Lord," a

token sufficient to withstand the weakness which before had broken down that of the disciples. They must be ready, every one, to share in Jesus' self-dedication unto death. What rite could better serve this end than John's baptism for a renewed people of God, adapted to their devotion to the new, divinely appointed Leader? May we not believe that as the company headed by Peter and the Twelve halted at the scene of the baptism of Jesus into the Spirit of divine adoption, they also took upon them the same baptism unto death? May we not believe that they were here baptized "into the name of Jesus," and experienced here, on the eve of Pentecost, that outpouring of the Spirit which was to them the token that God had made them sons and heirs of the kingdom, joint heirs with Jesus Christ?

Not all had the same experience. There were diversities of gifts. Not all eyes were opened to see the vision of Peter. Not all ears were unstopped to hear the voice from heaven declaring, "This is my Son, the Beloved." But all felt the common impulse. All recognized the "one Lord." For Paul, at least, it was nothing less than a "manifestation" like his own, granted by God to the entire dedicated company. Peter's experience had been the basic rock. Contact of the whole body with the Spirit of God which had been in Jesus until the whole five hundred felt their

own lives to be taken up into his—this was the completion of the Founding of the Church.

I have tried in briefest outline to set before you what a historical critic might consider to be the course of outward events to which our religion is due. Perhaps a final word might not be amiss as to the present availability of this record as a basis for religious faith. The outward side is only one aspect. To see the whole, one must have the vision of a Paul and recognize not only what Jesus and his disciples did, but what God was doing through them. The Christian believes now, as always, that life eternal is mediated by effectual contact with the Spirit of God. This is our religion. It stands or falls according to the degree of its success in imparting this Spirit. Standards of morality are needful. Religious teachings by the wisest and best are a support and comfort. But life itself, eternal life, comes only through right relation of the soul to God. If we accept the Story of Jesus and the Beginnings of the Church as a real gospel, a message of peace from the Father of our spirits, it must be because with Paul we find in it the evidence that God, in the person and work of Jesus, was reconciling the world unto himself, not reckoning unto men their trespasses. Those whose eyes are opened to that vision have the light of the knowledge

of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. Those whose inward ear responds to the call of this divine Lord will hear the very Spirit of God Himself bearing witness with their spirit that they too are children of God.

THE END

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